The Materials for the History of Dor

BY

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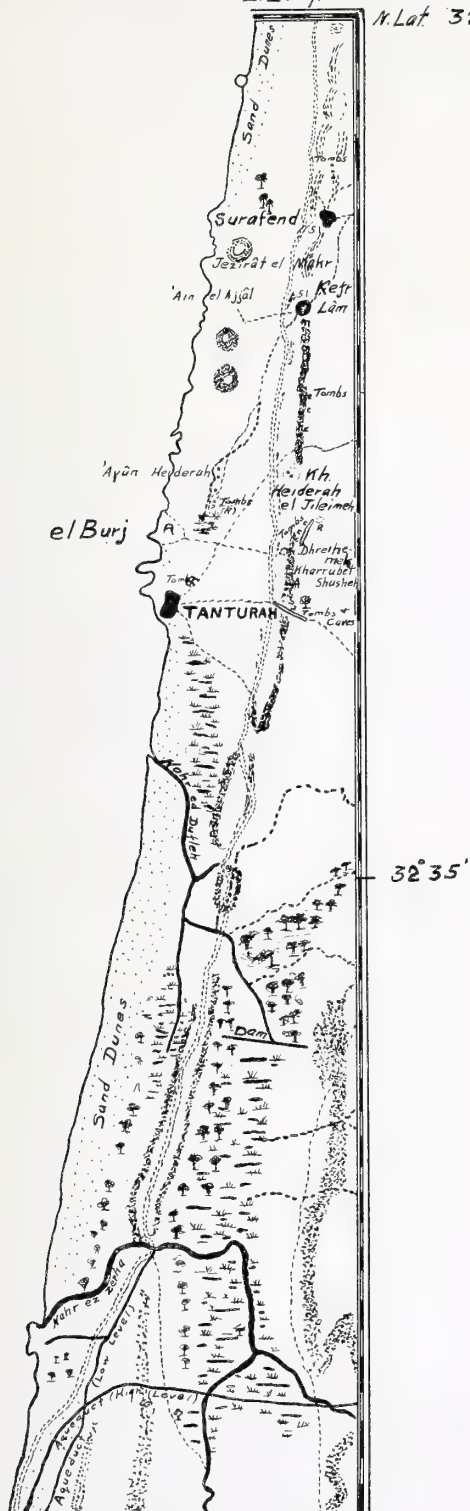
SOME OF THE ABBREVIATIONS USED.

Baed. (4):   Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, 4th edit. 1906.

C.I.S.:   *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.*

C.O.T.:   E. Schrader, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, trans. O. C. Whitehouse, 1885.

Guér., *Sam.:*   H. V. Guérin, *Description de la Palestine*, II Samarie, 1874-5.

K.H.A.T.:   *Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament* (ed. Marti).

O.S.:   *Onomastica Sacra*, ed. Lagarde; 2nd ed. 1887.

P.E.F.Q.:   Palestine Exploration Fund, *Quarterly Statements.*

R.:   Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, I—V (1861-84), IV[2] (1891).

S.B.O.T.:   *Sacred Books of the Old Testament* (ed. P. Haupt).

S.W.P.:   *Survey of Western Palestine.* Palestine Exploration Fund.

Tab. Peut.:   *Tabula Peutingeriana* (ed. E. Desjardins, 1869-74).

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E. Long. 34° 56′
N. Lat. 32° 40′

Sand Dunes

Tombs

Surafend

Jezîrât el Mahr

'Ain el Ajjâl

Kefr Lâm

Tombs

'Ayûn Heiderah

Kh. Heiderah

el Jileimeh

Tombs (R)

el Burj

Dhrethe mek
Kharrubet Shusheh

Tomb

TANTURAH

Tombs + Caves

32° 35′

Dam

Sand Dunes

Nahr ez Zerka (Low Level)

Aqueduct (High Level)

DOR AND ITS ENVIRONS.

FOREWORD.

There seems to be room for a careful and critical examination of the sources for the history of the little-known city of Dor. This work presents the results of an investigation which has aimed to take into account all the extant literature bearing on the subject. So far as possible the testimony of sources has been carefully sifted and weighed. It is to be hoped that the evidence of excavations on the site of the city may sometime be available to increase our knowledge gained from the literary remains.

To Professor C. C. Torrey of Yale University, my sincerest appreciation and most grateful thanks are due for many helpful suggestions and for inspiration gained through conference with him. I wish also to extend my thanks to Professor W. Max Müller of the University of Pennsylvania for information regarding the Egyptian form, D-ïra. To Professor A. T. Clay of Yale University I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness for assistance in the preparation of the chapter on "Dor in Assyrian Literature."

TOPOGRAPHY OF DOR.

Beginning at the headland of Mount Carmel, the great Maritime Plain of Palestine extends southwards for a distance of about one hundred miles. This plain naturally divides into three portions[1]. The north corner, lying between Mount Carmel and the Mediterranean, begins as a narrow pass some two hundred yards wide between the Carmel headland and the sea, gradually broadening until at its southern extremity, the Crocodile River (mod. Nahr el-Zerkā), it is eight miles wide. Its length from Carmel to the Zerkā is nearly twenty miles. From the Crocodile River the second portion of the Maritime Plain, the Plain of Sharon, widening from eight miles to twelve, rolls southward some forty-four miles to the Nahr Rūbīn and a line of low hills to the south of Ramleh. To the south of the Plain of Sharon, the last division, the Plain of Philistia, extends a distance of forty miles to the River of Egypt (the Wady el-'Arīsh).

In the southern part of the first of these divisions lies the village Ṭanṭūra, successor to the ancient city of Dor[2]. Ṭanṭūra lies in northern latitude[3] 32° 36′ 35″, in eastern longitude from Greenwich 34° 54′ 40″. The ruins of Dor, known as el-Burj or Khŭrbet Ṭanṭūra[4], are located about one-half mile directly north of the modern town. Dor proper lies therefore in latitude 32° 36′ 50″, longitude 34° 54′ 40″. Its distance from the headland of Carmel and from Haifa is about fourteen and one-half miles south. It is about six and one-half miles south of 'Athlīt, which was the chief city of the district during the Crusades[5]. Caesarea[6], built by

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[1] G.A.S., *Hist. Geog.*, pp. 147 f.

[2] C. R. Conder, in Hast. *D.B.* s. v. Dor, seems now inclined to reject his earlier identification of Ṭanṭūra with Dor (*P.E.F.Q.*, 1874, p. 12; *S. W.P. Mem.* II, p. 3). The location of the town, however, agrees so well with the data at hand that nearly all writers accept the identification as practically certain.

[3] P.E.F., *Map of Palestine*, Sheet 7, I j; Ptolemy (*Nat. Hist.* V, 15, 5) locates Dor in 66° 30′, 32° 40′.

[4] *S.W.P. Mem.*, II, p. 7.

[5] Then called Castellum Peregrinorum (Buhl, *Geog.*, p. 211); *P.E.F.Q.* 1874, p. 12.

[6] Anciently Στράτωνος Πύργος (G.A.S., *Hist. Geog.*, pp. 138 ff.).

Herod the Great in time to become the capital of the Roman prov-
ince of Judea, lies eight miles south of Dor[1].

Ṭanṭūra, the modern town, an unimportant village of a few hun-
dred Moslem inhabitants[2], lies along the coast. South of the vil-
lage stretches a fine open sandy beach; northwards the shore is
rocky as far as the Jezīret el–Mŭkr[3]. To the east and southeast lies
a swamp[4]. A short distance to the south of the town is the Nahr
el-Dufleh[5], a stream some five to ten yards across and apparently
perennial; still farther south, on the way to Caesarea, one crosses
the Nahr el-Zerḳā, the Crocodile River of the ancients. In the
sea, opposite the town, are several small islands; these combine
with a slight curve in the beach to form a sort of harbor for the
small coasting craft. On the north this little bay is protected by
a rocky point that juts out into the sea in the form of a promon-
tory[6]. North of this promontory is another ancient port; evidently
there was here a double harbor[7]. The buildings of the town itself
are for the most part mud cabins one story high, lying along the
beach[8]; stones taken from the ruins to the north have been used in
building the better houses[9]. To the east is a square stone build-
ing[10] used as a *medāfeh*, or "guest house," for passing travelers.

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[1] According to the Tab. Peut. the distance from Cesaria to Thora (sic) is
VIII (Roman miles); Eus. and Jerome (*O.S.* 283:3; 142:13-15) make it nine
Roman miles.

[2] Baed. (4) (1906) p. 231 ; *Enc. Bib.* s. v.; *S.W.P., Mem.* II, p. 3 ; Buck-
ingham (*Trav. in Pal.*, p. 123 ; so von Raumer, *Palästina* (3), p. 154, in
1850) in 1823, estimated the population at 500 souls, with 40 or 50 dwellings;
Guérin (*Sam.* 2, 305 f.) in 1874 says 1200 inhabitants (but Guérin seems to
overestimate the population of several towns in this district). According
to the Population List of the Liva of 'Akka (reported by G. Schumacher,
P.E.F.Q., 1887, p. 181, no. 38) there were in 1887, 154 Moslem men between
16 and 60 years of age ; this would give an estimated total of about 770
souls ; the town at that time was growing (*Ibid.* p. 84).

[3] *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 1 ; Buhl, *Geog.*, p. 32 ; see map.

[4] Baed. (4), pp. 231 f ; *Pal. Expl. Map*, Sheet 7; Buhl, *Geog.*, p. 211.

[5] G.A.S., *Hist. Geog.*, Map VI, opp. p. 379, errs in making Wady el-Duf-
leh tributary to the Nahr el-Zerḳā. The Nahr el-Dufleh is also called Nahr
el-Ḳarājeh (*S.W.P., Name Lists*, p. 140).

[6] Guér., *Sam.* 2:305 f ; *P.E.F.Q.*, (1887), p. 84 ; Ibid. (1873), p. 100.

[7] G.A.S., *Hist. Geog.* p. 130 ; see page 11 below.

[8] Buhl, *Geog.*, p. 211 ; *S W.P. Mem.* II, p. 3.

[9] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1887, p. 84 ; Guér., *Sam.* 2:305.

[10] *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 3.

Guérin[1] mentions two mosques, both partly in ruins in his time, one of which contained several ancient granite columns. With the increasing prosperity of the town, a number of good-looking granaries have risen near the seashore[2]. There is a well northeast of the village[3]. Many of the inhabitants are sailors and fishermen; for the rest, the industries of the town are mainly agricultural and pastoral. In the fields to the east and the south grain is raised, part of which is exported in small coastwise sailing vessels[4]. As is usually the case in Palestine, the property of the natives of Ṭanṭūra consists chiefly in herds of cattle and goats[5]. The inhabitants share the greedy avarice and the thieving propensities so universal in that land[6]. On the whole, Ṭanṭūra is a typical Palestinian coast town.

A few minutes to the north of the modern village lie scattered about the ruins of ancient Dor. These ruins[7] consist of a mound covered with debris, with a fallen tower to the south; the remains of a double harbor and of a colonnaded building adjacent to the more northerly port; a large cistern now called El-Ḥannāneh; and an ancient causeway leading north and south to the east of the town. Rock-cut tombs are also to be found in the neighborhood.

The most conspicuous object to former travellers was the ruined tower, visible at every point from Carmel to Caesarea, perhaps dating from the period of the Crusades[8], which stood on a low rocky promontory to the south of the mound. South of this promontory, in the direction of the modern town, is a sandy beach and

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[1] *Sam.* 2:305 f. (1874-75); the Chevalier d'Arvieux, c. 1700 (in Labat, *Merkwürdige Nachrichten*, II. pp. 11-13), states that the inhabitants had no mosques; so Buckingham (*Trav. in Pal.*, p. 123) in 1821; writers after Guérin (e. g., *Pal. Ex. Fund. Mem.*, Baed., etc.) make no mention of a mosque.

[2] Schumacher in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1887, p. 84.

[3] *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 3.

[4] Sir C. Wilson, *Picturesque Palestine,* pp. 115 f.; *S.W.P. Mem.* II, pp. 3, 35; *P.E.F.Q.*, 1887, p. 84.

[5] Sir C. Wilson, *ibid.*

[6] Van de Velde, *Narrat.* I, 333; Buckingham, *Travels*, p. 123; the Chevalier d'Arvieux (in Labat, *Merkwürdige Nachrichten*, III, pp. 74-82).

[7] *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 7; Guér., *Sam.* 2:306 ff.

[8] Murray, *Handbook* (1875), p. 358; *Enc. Bib.* s. v. Dor; *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 8; *P.E.F.Q.*, 1873, pp. 99 f.—It is easily possible that most of these ruins are from a period later than that of the Crusades.

bay. On the north the chief ruins of ancient Dor line the shore.
A deep moat separated the tower from the town. The height of
the tower was about 40 feet; its top was 58.8 feet above the sea-
level. The tower formed the northeast corner of a square fortress;
the foundations of another corner tower can be seen near by.
The whole was built of rubble and small stones, faced with well-cut
stones about two feet six inches long and two feet high. The
mortar was very thickly laid around the stones, and contained
pieces of red pottery. The style and material of construction and a
pointed arch in the east wall would seem to indicate that the tower
was Crusading work. The foundations, however, are evidently
much older[1]. On the 15th of January, 1895, the tower collapsed,
leaving nothing of this important landmark but a heap of debris
and the foundations[2]. It is safe to assume that the tower stones
suitable for building purposes have long since been carried off to
near-by Ṭanṭūra or to other towns along the coast[3].

The mound, covering the site of the city itself, is about two
hundred yards long, and comprises an area of several acres adjacent
to the sea[4]. Broken masonry and fragments of glass and pottery
cover it. Of the larger stones only a few pillar shafts remain, the
greater part of the fallen blocks having been dug up and removed.
The mound extends as far as the promontory on which the tower
stands. Its flat top is about twenty to thirty feet above the level
of the shore. On the edge of the mound near the sea, east of the
debris of the tower, the mutilated remains of a colonnade may be
seen. The bases and capitals are of a rude Byzantine character,
resembling those found east of the Jordan and elsewhere, which
are dated as of the fifth century[5]. The shafts are three feet in
diameter. East of this colonnade is the moat mentioned above
near which a number of drums of columns lie scattered about
on the ground[6]. The city walls can no longer be clearly traced.

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[1] Guér., *Sam.* 2:306.

[2] Dr. G. Schumacher in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1895, p. 113.

[3] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1883, p. 99; *ibid.*, 1887, p. 84.

[4] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1873, pp. 99 f; *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 8; Guérin (*Sam.* 2:308)
gives the dimensions of ancient Dor as 1200 meters long and about 670
meters wide; this evidently includes the various ruins, graves, etc., outside
the city proper.

[5] *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 8.

[6] *Ibid.*; Guér., *Sam.* 2:307.

Like nearly all of the Syrian ports, Dor seems to have had a double harbor, facing north and south, whose two basins insured protection against winds from all directions[1]. This is the only kind of port practicable along the almost harborless coast. Both Sidon and Tyre had double ports[2]. Here at Ṭanṭūra the tower promontory separated the two harbors. The harbor south of the promontory contains the ruins of artificial moles in the sea[3], built to increase the size and security of the harbor. North of the promontory are the remains of a more considerable port. In the sea here is a peculiar scarped reef, through which a narrow passage has been cut to form an entrance to the harbor. Apparently this passage was curved, about fifty yards long with sides from eight to ten feet high. As at Tyre, the entrance to this passage was probably closed at one time by a chain or boom[4]. For the small boats of ancient times this double harbor, protected as it was by the promontory and by moles, offered fairly safe shelter.

Near the shore of the northern harbor a number of columns lie on the ground, each about one foot six inches in diameter, with simple square base[5]. The material of which these columns are made is the same coarse limestone as that of which the tower was built and is evidently taken from the quarries in the neighborhood. They seem to be the remains of a building close to the water, perhaps the temple of some maritime deity[6]. Just north of these columns there are four rock-cut tombs in the cliff[7]. One of these tombs has two loculi, the second a square chamber, and the third and fourth have three loculi each.

On the north harbor shore itself are three retaining walls, the remains of a maritime building. The southern wall is built against the north face[8] of the promontory on which the tower formerly

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[1] G.A.S., *Hist. Geog.*, p. 130.

[2] F. C. Eiselen, *Sidon*, p. 4; Hast., *D.B.* s.v. Zidon and Tyre.

[3] Guér., *Sam.* 2:306; Murray, *Handbook* (1875) p. 358.

[4] *S.W.P. Mem.* II, pp. 8, 9; Baed. (4) pp. 231 ff.

[5] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1874, p. 12; *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 8; Guér., *Sam.* 2:307. These columns were ten in number as reported by P. E. F. Survey and Guérin; doubtless some have been taken away since then.

[6] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1874, p. 12.

[7] *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 8.

[8] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1873, pp. 99 f.; *ibid.*, 1874, p. 12; *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 8; Guérin (*Sam.* 2:307) describes these as the remains of two adjoining buildings.

stood. The work seems to be Roman[1]. The walls are built of perfectly-shaped blocks of coarse limestone, the stones measuring five feet six inches in length, two feet six inches in breadth, and two feet two inches in height. The total height of the walls is about fifteen feet, the thickness six feet. The masonry is laid, like brickwork, in alternate courses of headers and stretchers; an excellent cement is used. North and south the original building measured thirty paces; the side-walls are about eleven paces in length, the northern projecting nearly to the water. In front of this building there are a number of large flat slabs of the same size as the stones in the walls. These formed the pavement of what was apparently a wharf[2]. In the water a small jetty is visible. This large building was probably for the accommodation of sailors and traders, used doubtless as a storehouse and a market[3].

Continuing north from this building one finds on the shore the debris of several buildings. There are also a couple of small bays protected from the west winds by small islands. In one of these bays a long wall juts out into the water, evidently a pier of some sort; on the shore is a wharf paved with large stones. These ruins extend beyond the limits of the mound itself, making a total shore line of some 1200 meters in length[4].

The ruins of El-Ḥammāneh[5], an ancient cistern just east of the causeway, are connected with the town by the remains of a road. The cistern is built of stones measuring from two feet to three feet six inches in length, and is about ten paces square. The interior is lined with rubble coated with a hard white cement. The mortar behind this cement is thickly bedded and contains large pieces of pottery. There is a shallow round well of ashlar close to the north wall of the cistern. The work, resembling as it does that of the

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[1] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1873, pp. 99 f.

[2] At the present time, however, the level of the water is by no means high enough to reach this wharf. (Ritter, *Die Erdkunde*, XVI, *West. Asien*, p. 608). Guthe (*Palästina*, p. 27) shows that even within historical times a change in the relative level of the Palestinian coast and the Mediterranean has taken place. He maintains that the land has gradually risen, while the level of the water has at the same time been sinking.

[3] Guér., *Sam.* 2:307; *P.E.F.Q.*, 1874, p. 12.

[4] Guér., *Sam.* 2:307 f.; Murray (*Handbook*, 1875, p. 358) says one-half mile.

[5] Baed. (4), pp. 231 ff.; *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 9; *P.E.F.Q.*, 1873, pp. 99 f.; written الخَبّاصة "hydraulic machine," or "waterwheel."

walls of Caesarea, probably belongs to the twelfth or thirteenth century.

The causeway[1], lying east of the town and running north and south, is traceable here for about a quarter of a mile. This was the great coast highroad to Egypt; here and there, as for example at 'Ayūn Ḥeiderah, the ruts of the light chariot wheels are still visible on the rock. At the time when this road was in general use this region was doubtless covered with villages and as prosperous as any other part of Palestine. On one side of the causeway, just south of El-Ḥannāneh, there were nine[2] granite columns; three were planted perpendicularly touching one another; south of these were three more, also touching; the remaining three were fallen and scattered about. Their diameter was one foot six inches; they were without base or capital, having only a simple fillet at the upper end of the shaft; they were partly sunk in rubbish. Inasmuch as the arrangement of these shafts is similar to that of some of the milestones on Roman roads, it is quite likely that they had been taken from an older building and used to mark the ninth Roman mile from Caesarea[3].

East of this coast road and parallel to the sea stretches a rocky ridge, forty to fifty feet high and some three hundred yards broad[4]. This ridge, commencing in sand dunes about three miles southwest of Mt. Carmel, gradually increases in regularity and hardness of rock, until, between 'Athlīt and Ṭanṭūra, it is about fifty feet high. Its southern limit is a few miles south of Caesarea. It serves to separate the narrow coast plain, about a mile wide, in which Dor is situated, from the inland plain to the east. The ridge seems to have formed a protection against hostile incursions, for the stone has been quarried in such manner as to leave a narrow crest on the summit, which makes a protecting wall of living stone. In at least four places passages have been cut through the ridge, and show traces of having been closed by gates. Numerous tombs, dating probably from the early Christian centuries, have been cut in the ridge.

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[1] *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 9; *P.E.F.Q.*, 1874, p. 12.

[2] Whether all these columns are still in place is questionable. Probably part or all have been carried away.

[3] *O.S.*, 142:13-15; 283:3.

[4] *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 1; *P.E.F.Q.*, 1873, p. 99; Guér., *Sam.* 2:308; van de Velde, *Narrat.* 1:333; Buhl, *Geog. des alt. Pal.*, p. 32.

Almost directly east of ancient Dor, near the ruins called Dreihemeh[1], is one of the rock-cut passages, leading to the plain to the east[2]. This is the most southern of the passages cut through the ridge. It is apparently of considerable antiquity, with rock-cut tombs and guard houses in the sides. The average breadth of the passage is fifteen feet, its height ten feet and its length about two hundred feet in all. Near the entrance to this cutting is a semi-circular apse cut into the rock[3]. The radius of this apse is thirteen feet five inches; two steps lead up from the present floor to the surface of the rock. At each end and in the middle of the semicircle are square holes, evidently intended for pillars. The presence of a quarry to the west containing stones not quite broken out of the rock lends weight to the suggestion that the work is an unfinished basilica.

The whole ridge near Dor seems to have been extensively used as a quarry for the ancient town. In some places considerable quantities of stone have been removed. Here, too, was the principal necropolis of the city[4]. A large number of the tombs are still preserved, though all have been plundered. Some of them are single, while others contain a number of "kokīm" or burial chambers. In many of the kokīm the stone has been left higher at one end, to form a sort of stone pillow.

Between the modern city and the ruins of ancient Dor there has been discovered a large and interesting tomb[5]. It is a chamber fourteen and one-half feet wide by nineteen and one-half feet long. There are on the left five kokīm, each measuring seven feet by three feet; at the back there are three, and at the right four. In the four corners of the chamber are four smaller chambers, apparently double kokīm, for receiving two bodies each. The entrance to the tomb is a long passage descending by steps to the door. The door is square, with an arch above it outside. On the left of the entering passage is another koka, also measuring seven by three feet. Bones and skulls were found in the tomb. In the

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[1] Arab. دريهمة (diminutive form), meaning a small silver coin ; Greek δραχμή.

[2] *S. W. P. Mem.* II, p. 11.

[3] Dr. G. Schumacher in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1889, p. 191; is this the "excavation resembling a small theater" mentioned by Murray (*Handbook*, 1875, p. 358)?

[4] Guér., *Sam.* 2:308.

[5] *S. W.P. Mem.* II, p. 10.

double corner koka at the back on the left there is a niche eighteen inches high and nine inches across, probably intended for a lamp. This tomb is of the same general type as the others found in the neighborhood, and apparently dates from at least as early as the beginning of the Christian era.

Among the more important ruins near Dor, Dreihemeh[1] deserves mention. It lies east of the mound, commanding the entrance to the rock-cut passage through the ridge[2]. There are here ruins of buildings, several columns and a number of tombs. Guérin speaks of an ancient well here, Bir Drimeh (بِير دْرِيمَه), cut in the rock, square in shape, and with holes dug in its side to permit one to descend to the bottom[3]. North of Dreihemeh lie the ruins and tombs of Khŭrbet Ḥeiderah[4]. There is here a shaft ten feet deep and sixteen feet wide at the top, with a staircase and small recesses in its side. At the springs called 'Ayūn Ḥeiderah[5] there are deep ruts in the stone three feet, three inches apart and about six inches wide each, made, probably, by the carts of the Crusaders. Here are also tombs cut in the rocky ridge. A foot-path crosses the coast plain diagonally from Ṭanṭūra to Kefr Lām[6], a small village of mud hovels crowded within the walls of an ancient Crusading fort; the distance is about two and one-half miles. Farther north the village of Ṣŭrafend[7], a small collection of mud cabins with ruins to the north, stands upon the ridge.

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[1] *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 11; Guér., *Sam.* 2:309.

[2] See p. 14.

[3] Guérin (*Sam.* 2:309) finds in the name Drimeh the Greek name Δρυμός of Strabo (*Geog.* XVI, 2:28) and Josephus (*B.J.I.*, 13:2; *Ant.* XIV. 13:3), described as being the region adjacent to Mt. Carmel. The Greek word signifies "oak-coppice." On the other hand, the form of the name as given by the P.E.F. (see note 1, p. 14) is Dreihemeh, apparently a diminutive form from the Greek δραχμή and denoting "a small silver coin." It is quite possible that the Greek Δρυμός has in popular use been changed to Dreihemeh as a form more easily understandable.

[4] *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 30; Guér., *Sam.* 2:308.

[5] *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 6, حَيْدَرَة = "declivity," "descent," or possibly "lion." (*S.W.P., Name Lists*, p. 140; Lane's *Arab. Dict.*)

[6] Wilson, *Pict. Pal.*, pp. 114 ff.; *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 3.

[7] *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 4; Ritter, *Die Erdkunde*, XVI, p. 113.

THE NAME DOR.

Dor appears in the Old Testament under the two forms: רֹאֽד[1] and דוֹר[2]. In the Eshmunazar[3] inscription רֹאֽד is used. The Assyrian[4] inscriptions witness to the form Du-'-ru (or Du-'u-ru); the Egyptian Papyrus Golenischeff writes D-ïra[5]. Among Greek writers Δῶρος and Δῶρα are the forms in which the name most frequently occurs; but Δωρά[6] and Δοῦρα[7] are also found. Pliny[8] uses Doron (or Dorum), and the Tabula Peutingeriana[9] gives the name as Thora. The form Δῶρος is found mainly in the earlier writers; Δῶρα later becomes universal. Nevertheless Stephan of Byzantium, writing as late as the fifth century A. D., prefers the older form Δῶρος. The following authors give the name of this town as Δῶρος: Scylax (c. 500 B. C.), Apollodorus (c. 140 B. C.), Alexander of Ephesus (c. 50 B.C.) and Charax (c. 150 A. D.)[10]. To this same category belongs Pliny's Doron or Dorum[11]. Δῶρα (variants Δωρά and Δώρα), the second and later of these two forms, appears in 1 Macc. 15: 11, 13, 25; it is used by Artemidorus[12] (c. 100 B.C.), by Claudius Iolaus[13] (c. 50 A. D.), by Josephus, by Ptolemaus[14] (between 127 and 151 A. D.), in the Clementine Recognitiones[15] (prob. c. 225 A. D.), by Eusebius (O. S. (2) 250⁵⁶), Jerome (ibid. 115²²), Hierocles[16] (6th century ?), in the list of Bishops in Le Quien[17],

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[1] Josh. 17:11 ; 1 Kings 4:11.

[2] Josh. 11:2 ; 12:23 ; Jdg. 1:27 ; 1 Chron. 7:29.

[3] Line 19 ; C.I.S., I, 3 ; Lidzbarski, Taf. IV².

[4] II R. 53, no. 1, rev. line 40 ; ibid. no. 4, line 57.

[5] Müller, Asien u. Eur., p. 388.

[6] 1 Macc. 15:11, 13, 25.

[7] Polybius, Historiae, V : 66.

[8] Natural History, 5:17.

[9] Ed. Desjardins, Segment IX.

[10] The three last named in Steph. Byz. s.v. Δῶρος.

[11] Nat. Hist. 5:17.

[12] Steph. Byz. s.v. Δῶρος.

[13] Ibid.; for the correct form of the name (i. e. Iolaus), see C. Müller, Fragm. Hist. Graec., IV, 362-364.

[14] V, 15:5 = Ed. Didot, V, 14:3.

[15] Clem. Recogn., IV: 1.

[16] Synecdème, ed. Parthy, p. 43.

[17] Oriens Christianus III, 574 ff.—of the 5th and early 6th centuries.

by Geographus Ravennas[1], by Guido[2], by Georgius Cyprius (♯1000)[3] and on coins[4]. To this list must be added Polybius (V[66]: Δοῦρα) and the Tabula Peutingeriana ("Thora")[5]. First Maccabees makes Δωρά an indeclinable noun; usually it is treated as a neuter plural[6]; occasionally it is regarded as a feminine singular[7].

How are we to account for the variations in the Greek form of the name? To the Hebrew דֹּאר (or דֹּור) early Greek writers would most naturally attach the masculine ending -*os*, partly influenced perhaps by the name of the Greek hero Doros[8]. Thus the earlier Greek form of the town's name arose. As the Aramaic language, however, began to supplant the Hebrew, the Aramaic determinative ending אָ־[9] was added to the original name, giving the form דֹּורָא (or דֹּארָא). The translator of 1 Maccabees was well acquainted with the Aramaic language and therefore used Δωρά as an indeclinable noun. Most Greek writers, on the other hand, would represent this ending either as a feminine singular or a neuter plural form. There would naturally be no fixed rule for the accent of the Greek form of this Aramaic name; and, as a matter of fact, we find that in various writers and different manuscripts of the same writer, the accents vary widely. Stephan of Byzantium[10] prefers as the ethnic form of the name of this town, Δωρίτης. This form is derivable from either Δῶρα or Δῶρος, as he proves by analogies drawn from the ethnics of other towns. He mentions, however,

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[1] Edd. Pinder et Parthey, pp. 89, 357.

[2] *Geographica*, § 94.

[3] Ed. Gelzer, p. 51.

[4] G. F. Hill, *Coins of Phoen.*, pp. LXXV, 118.—Hecataeus (c. 500 B. C.) in *Steph. Byz.* s. v. Δῶρος reads : μετὰ δὲ ἡ πάλαι Δῶρος, νῦν δὲ Δῶρα καλεῖται. This statement in its present form can hardly be original with Hecataeus. For this change in the form of the name probably did not take place until several centuries after Hecataeus wrote. The interpolator states the fact as evident in his own time.

[5] Ed. Desjardins. Seg. IX.

[6] Josephus usually ; Eusebius, *O.S.* [(2)] 280:40, 283:3 ; the list of bishops in Lequien.

[7] Jos., *Ant.* XIII, 7:2 in several MSS.; *Clem. Recog.* IV:1.

[8] See Claudius Iolaus in *Steph. Byz.* s.v. Δῶρος.

[9] Possibly to distinguish the proper name Dor, as "*the* walled city" (see p. 19) from other cities to which the term "dor" (= walled town) might be applied. There was besides in the later Aramaic a tendency to use the determinative ending freely.

[10] S.v. Δῶρος.

the use by Pausanius of the ethnic Δωριεῖς, the plural of Δωριεύς, as though built on a form Δώριον. On coins of Dor[1] the forms ΔΩΡΙΤΩΝ and ΔΩΡΕΙΤΩΝ are found, corresponding to the forms Δωρίτης and Δωρείτης. Thus we have witnesses for two forms of the ethnic, viz.: Δωρίτης (or Δωρείτης)[2] and Δωριεύς; of these the former is the better attested.

The variation in the middle consonant in the Hebrew name Dor finds its parallel in the case of En-dor. For in 1 Sam. 28: 7 En-dor is written עֵין דּוֹר; but in Ps. 83: 11 the form עֵין דֹּאר appears[3]. In the name of the town Hammath-dor of Josh. 21:32 we have the form דֹּאר. The transliteration of all these names in the Greek Old Testament throws no light upon the question as to what was originally the middle consonant[4]. Nor does the single occurrence of the name in Egyptian documents furnish any information in this regard[5]. But the use of the form דֹּאר in the Eshmunazar inscription and of Du-'-ru (or Du-'u-ru) in the Assyrian inscriptions[6] indicates that 'Aleph was originally the middle consonant. דֹּאר is doubtless, therefore, the older writing of the name. Both forms are, however, correct. In the Hebrew language 'Aleph in many cases early lost its consonantal value. The Biblical writers were therefore at liberty to write either דֹּאר or דּוֹר.

What does the word Dor mean? Greek writers regarded the Palestinian coast cities as Greek settlements; this is indicated by the legends they give of the founding of these towns[7]. Oftentimes basing their statements on mere chance resemblances in names, they represent Greek gods or heroes as founders and thus surround

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[1] Hill, pp. LXXV, 113–118. The form ΔΩΡΙΡΙΤΩΝ on one coin is due to dittography.

[2] Δωρείτης is the same as Δωρίτης, either ει or ι having been used formerly to represent the sound ī.

[3] Another slight modification in the writing occurs in the עֵין דֹּר of Josh. 17:11. The town Endor, however, probably does not belong here. See below, pp. 51 f.

[4] The Peshitto version writes the name ܕܳܐܪ. This may represent either of the Hebrew forms.

[5] Prof. W. Max Müller informs me that the Egyptian form D-ïra (better Da-ïra) of the Papyrus Golenischeff does not show the 'Aleph. In this form, furthermore, the vowels are worthless.

[6] See pp. 39 f.

[7] *Steph. Byz., passim*; Schür., *G.J.V.*, 2:55, 56.

the cities with the nimbus of ancient Greek origin. The name Dor is accounted for by this word-play method. Claudius Iolaus[1] declares: καί τινες ἱστοροῦσι Δῶρον τὸν Ποσειδῶνος οἰκιστὴν αὐτῆς γεγονέναι. Evidently this is mere legend, invented to explain the name, and has no basis beyond verbal similarity[2].

The Hebrew דּוֹר means ordinarily "period", "generation"[3]. In the verse Isaiah 38:12, however, it is translated "dwelling", or "habitation"[4]. In Ps. 84:11 the corresponding verb דּוֹר signifies "to dwell". The Hebrew noun is evidently related to that other Hebrew noun דּוּר, "circle" or "ball". The Hebrew nouns and verb are doubtless connected with the Arabic verb دَار, to "move in a circle", "go about", "surround". From this root is derived the Arabic noun دَار "house", "group of buildings around a court", related to دُور "circle", "circuit".

The Assyrian sign for Du-ru is borrowed from the Sumerian, where it is given the value BAD[5]. Du-ru signifies "wall" or "fence", and then "rampart" or a "place or fortress surrounded with a rampart"[6]. It is a common and early Babylonian place name[7]. Apparently the name Du-ru is related to the Hebrew דּוּר and דּוֹר and to the Arabic دَار, دَار and دُور[8]. In all these forms there is the idea of something round, a circle, hence in the case of the nouns, a court, or a surrounding wall, a fortress or place surrounded by a wall[9]. A common Semitic root דּוֹר with the idea of

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[1] *Steph. Byz.* s.v. Δῶρος ; Müller, *Fragm. hist. graec.* VI, 363.

[2] So Schür., *loc. cit.*; Guér., *Sam.* 2:310.

[3] Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Heb. Lex.*, s.v.

[4] *Ibid.*; Marti on the passage.

[5] Strassmeier, *Assyr. und Akkad. Wörter of Cun. Inscr. of West. Asia*, vol. II, no. 2107 ; Ungnad in *Beitr. z. Assyr.*, vol. VI, Heft 3, pp. 27, 28 ; Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch.*

[6] Muss-Arnolt, *Dict. of Assyr. Lang.*; Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch* ; *C.O.T.* on Dan. 3:1 ; *ibid.* II, 224 ; Clay, *Amurru*, p. 130.

[7] *C.O.T.* on Dan. 3:1 ; Marti on Dan. 3:1.

[8] In the Aramaic of the Talmud, etc., we have the form דּוּרָא (דיור, דיור), from דּוּר, "to dwell" with the meaning "village" or "town". This word likewise has the idea of something round (Levy, *Neuhebr. Wörterbuch*) and goes back to the same root as these other forms.

[9] From the idea of a surrounding wall comes the meaning "court" and then "dwelling", as in the Hebrew.

"moving in a circle," "surrounding," etc., is doubtless the basis of the Hebrew, Arabic and Babylonian forms. The name Dor undoubtedly antedates the Hebrew occupation of Palestine[1]. The same element 'dor' occurs also in the town names "Endor" and "Hammoth-Dor"[2]. Evidently the name Dor in Palestine is the same word as the Babylonian Du-ru, and like it signifies eventually "a place or fortress surrounded by a wall or rampart"[3].

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[1] It was not until a late period that the Hebrews secured possession of Dor (Josh. 17:11, 12). They certainly did not give the name to the city.

[2] At the present time (see *S.W.P. Mem.* II, 294) there is a small village Dūrah about ten miles due east from Bethel, i. e., northeast from Jerusalem. Probably this name ought to be added to the list of Palestinian names containing the element 'dor'.

[3] Prof. Fritz Hommel (*Grundriss*, pp. 27 f.) propounds the ingenious but far-fetched theory that the name Dor is derived from the name Teucri; these were, he holds, among the sea-peoples who invaded Palestine c. 1300 B. C. But it is only by doing violence to the laws of etymology that he can obtain even the most insecure foothold for his hypothesis. The mere statement of the equation he must make is enough to rule out his theory from the realm of probabilities. This is the equation : Dor = Do'or = Dokor = Takkar = Zaḳḳalū = Teucri. A far cry from Dor to Teucri! Hitzig (*Philistäer*, pp. 135 ff.; cf. Schenkel, *Bib. Lex.* s.v. Dor) compares Dor with Endor lying on the same parallel, and propounds the theory that the names are Indogermanic and given by the Philistine settlers. Dor then would mean "pass", "entrance", "door". Endor would be "the other" Dor. The two would resemble the front and rear doors of a house. This theory is too refined and lacks support. The town doubtless had the name Dor long before the Philistine invasion. Hitzig's derivation of Dor from the Sanskrit dvār is improbable.

THE NAME NAPHATH DOR.

The Old Testament seems to distinguish between Dor and Naphath (or Naphoth) Dor. Whereas in Judg. 1:27 and in 1 Chron. 7:29 the simpler form "Dor" alone is used, the other passages employ the compound name. Thus, in Josh. 11:2 the name is given as נָפוֹת דּוֹר, and in 1 Kings 4:11 as נָפַת דָּאר. In Josh. 12:23 the reference is to דּוֹר לְנָפַת דּוֹר; here the two names are clearly distinct the one from the other. In the obscure phrase, שְׁלֹשֶׁת הַנָּפֶת, of Josh. 17:11 (end) it is probable that הַנֶּפֶת (the form of the word is corrupt) has reference to the preceding דָּאר [1].

The most likely explanation of the meaning of the word נֶפַת is the one which connects it with the old Semitic root נוּף, "to be high". Thus in Arabic the verb is used for that which is "long and high" (نَافَ يَنُوفُ اذا طَالَ وَارْتَفَعَ), and we find Yanūf (also written Yanūfā, Tanūf, etc.) as the ancient proper name of a mountainous region in North Arabia; see Yāqūt s.v. Similarly the fourth stem participle, مُنِيفٌ, signifies "high", "lofty", and is used especially of buildings or mountains, also as the proper name of a mountainous district, a lofty fortress, and the like. The word for the overtopping hump of a camel, نَوْفٌ, comes from this root; as does also the form نَيِّفٌ, "surplus", used in the sense of "over and above". Cp. also نِيَافَة, "His Eminence", used as the title of cardinals [2].

In the Hebrew [3] the original meaning, "be high", seems to have been retained in the יְפֵה נוֹף, "beautiful in elevation", of Psalm 48:3 [4]. Parallel with this meaning, however, and almost entirely supplanting it, arose the use of the verb, principally in the Hiphil, to mean "move to and fro", "brandish". Doubtless this signification of the root arose from the fact that the brandished object,

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[1] See the discussion of the passage on pp. 45 ff.

[2] Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, 738.

[3] B.D.B., *Heb. Lex.*, I, II נוּף.

[4] So Engl. Rev. Version, Briggs, Baethgen, Duhm (who connects it with καλλιοκολώνη = Fair-hill). Wellhausen, however, characterizes the word as "suspicious", having "no appropriate meaning which can be established".

whether spear or offering, was held *on high* in the act of brandish-
ing or waving it.   Related to the sense of the verb is the meaning
of the noun נָפָה, "sieve", which is a "brandishing instrument",
being held high and waved to and fro.   Thus in the Hebrew two
distinct meanings of the root נוף developed together, one contain-
ing the idea of height, the other that of brandishing.

In the Aramaic[1] the verb comes to mean "wave, blow, fan",
corresponding to the "brandish" of the Hebrew.   The Aramaic
noun נוֹף denotes "tree-top" "bough".   There is here an evident
fusion of the two meanings of the Hebrew, for the ideas of height
and moving to and fro are both applicable to the top branches of a
tree.   But of the noun נוֹף in the direct sense of "height" we find
no trace in the Aramaic language.

The Syriac ܢܘܦ has in like manner partially obscured the direct
sense of "height," though it has retained suggestions of the idea.
Thus in the Syriac of Ex. 20:25; Deut. 23:26, etc., the Afel of
the verb signifies "lift up".   The Ethpeel is used in the sense "to
be brandished".   The Ettafal form is evidently to be interpreted
with the idea of elevation in the passage[2]: "The hammers of the
Evil One, which were lifted up (ܐܬܬܢܝܦܘ) against them, did not
shatter them".   Brockelmann also cites P. Lagarde's *Analecta
Syriaca* 2:146, 24 for the use of the Ettafal to mean "surrexit"
(rose)[3].   The noun ܢܘܦܐ has among other meanings that of "nutus
manus".   This beckoning with the hand is a motion evidently con-
nected with the verb idea "to brandish".   All this evidence shows
that the Syriac has partially retained the idea of "height" origi-
nally contained in the word.

From the foregoing discussion it is evident that the primitive
sense of the root נוף contained in the Arabic, viz., "be high", has
been partially retained in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac.   In the
North Semitic dialect used at Dor, however, this original signifi-
cance of the root seems to have been preserved, at least so far as
the name of the heights inland from the coast city is concerned.
A feminine nominal form נָפָה[4] from the middle weak root נוף

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[1] Levy, *Neuhebr. u. Chald. Wörterbuch.*

[2] *Ephraemi Syri* (Overbeck), 115, 19 f.

[3] I have not the volume at hand to verify this reference.   Payne Smith
has failed to mention this passage.

[4] B.D.B., *Heb. Lex.*, p. 632.

would seem to be the basis for the construct singular form נֶפַת and
for the construct plural נָפוֹת[1]. The reference in the passages cited
would then be to the "height" or "heights" of Dor[2], probably in
the hilly and rolling country east of the town proper[3]. The pres-
ence of guard houses cut in the sides of the passage through the
ridge near Dreihemeh[4] would indicate that a garrison was kept
there. Without doubt the strategic heights behind the city were
also fortified; in connection with this outpost of the harbor town a
settlement would naturally grow up[5]. To this settlement on the
heights, and to the district in which it lay, the name נֶפַת דֹּאר
seems to have been given. The use of the name in the Old Testa-
ment, and the occurrence of the plural נָפוֹת, suggest that a con-
siderable territory was included in the term. In the שָׁמֵם רָמִם
(= "High Heavens") district of Sidon, referred to on the stones of
the temple of Ešmūn excavated near that city, there seems to be a
sort of parallel to the term נֶפַת דֹּאר. This "High Heavens" of
the Sidonian inscription seems to be the designation of a district or
suburb of the city located, like Naphath Dor, in the hilly region to
the East[6]. The existence of a town on the mainland at Tyre, called
Παλαίτυρος[7], and the presence of similar off-shoots from the city
proper in the case of many of the coast towns, add strong confirma-
tion to our explanation of the origin of the name Naphath Dor.

Opposed to this interpretation of the name is Symmachus'[8] ren-
dering of נֶפַת as ἡ παραλία. In Joshua 11:2 he renders וּבְנָפוֹת דֹּור

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[1] The long vowel ־ָ in the first syllable of the construct indicates that the
root of the noun is middle weak; cf. רָ(א)מַת in B.D.B., p. 928. For נֶפַת
see below.

[2] A.R.V., "height"; A.V., "region, coast, border, country". G.A.S.
(*Hist. Geog.*, p. 654) defines the word as "elevation, raised land".

[3] Ges., *Thes.*, 331 says: " Excelsum fortasse promontorium". "Promon-
torium " is improbable, especially in view of the כָּל־נֶפַת of 1 Kings 4:11,
which implies a larger area than the slight promontory at Dor. The
Carmel promontory would scarcely be referred to in that passage.

[4] See page 14.

[5] The ruins of Dreihemeh itself prove that such suburbs of Dor actually
existed.

[6] C. C. Torrey in *Jour. Am. Orient. Soc.* XXIII, pp. 164 ff.; Cp. XXIV, p.
215; XXIX, pp. 192 f.; Eiselen, *Sidon*, pp. 144 f.

[7] Hast., *D.B.*, s.v. Tyre; *Enc. Bib.* s.v.

[8] F. Field, *Origenis Hexapla*, in locis.

מִיָּם as καὶ εἰς τὴν παραλίαν Δὼρ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν. Similarly he translates
דוֹר לְנָפַת דּוֹר of Josh. 12 : 23, (Δωρ) τῆς παραλίας; and שְׁלֹשֶׁת
הַנָּפֶת of Josh. 17 : 11 is interpreted, καὶ αἱ τρεῖς παραλίαι. Where
did Symmachus get his ἡ παραλία? In a comparison of the Hebrew
and old Greek texts of Josh. 11 : 2, 3 a possible answer is to be
found[1]. The מִיָּם ("on the West") of these verses is inexactly
rendered in the Greek both times as εἰς τοὺς παραλίους. This phrase
in verse 2 immediately follows Ναφεθδωρ (B, φεναεδδώρ). It may be
that Symmachus' εἰς τὴν παραλίαν immediately preceding Dor was
suggested to him by the almost equivalent εἰς τοὺς παραλίους imme-
diately following Dor in the old Greek. That he may have been
influenced by the Greek in this manner is shown to be quite possi-
ble by his procedure in verse 3. Here he follows the example of
the Greek in disregarding the וְ of the וְהָאֱמֹרִי and reads: καὶ ἀπὸ
δυσμῶν τὸν Ἀμορραῖον. It seems quite possible, therefore, that we
owe Symmachus' mistranslation of נֶפֶת as ἡ παραλία to the inaccu-
rate rendering of מִיָּם by the Greek. It is also possible that Sym-
machus was influenced in his rendering by the fact that the Dor
known in his day was actually situated ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ. In any case he
is apparently the first to propound the theory that the name means
παραλία, and stands almost alone in his interpretation. The proba-
bility remains that the name נֶפֶת does not refer to the coast town,
but to the strategically far more important heights above the
town. With this hypothesis the form of the name agrees.

In all the versions and translations the name נֶפֶת seems to have
proved a stumbling-block. The Vulgate, with a different render-
ing each time the name occurs, is completely at a loss. In Josh.
11 : 2 it reads "in *regionibus* Dor iuxta mare "[2]; in Josh. 12 : 23, " et
provinciae Dor "; in Josh. 17 : 11, " et tertia pars *urbis Napheth* ";
and in 1 Kings 4 : 11, " omnis *Nephat Dor* ". The Targum[3] evi-
dently comes from the same source as Jerome's Vulgate renderings
" regionibus" and " provinciae ", for it represents נֶפֶת in Josh.
11 : 2; 12 : 23 and 1 Kings 4 : 11 by the construct plural פַּלְכֵי

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[1] For the Hebrew and Greek texts see the discussion of the passage on pp.
41 ff.

[2] Like the Greek the Latin here fails to understand the phrase מִיָּם .

[3] Walton's *Polyglot.*

(= Bezirk, Kreis[1]); in Josh. 17:11 the absolute תְּלָתָא פַּלְכִין occurs. This native Jewish tradition cannot be relied upon in its interpretation of the meaning of the word Naphath; it is valuable, however, in that it indicates that נפת must signify a district ("Bezirk, Kreis") adjoining Dor.

In the Peshitto of Joshua 11:2; 12:23; 1 Kings 4:11 the name is reproduced with no attempt at interpretation as נבֵּת דֹּר. The form נבֵּת represents a Hebrew segholate noun. But from a middle weak root נוף no such segholate form is permissible. The penultimate vowel of נָפָה, construct נָפַת, must of necessity be long and its omission in the Syriac is therefore incorrect. It is quite probable that the Septuagint renderings Ναφεθδωρ, Ναφεδδωρ, Ναφεδωρ, Ναφεθα, Φεννεδδωρ, etc. (with ε in the second syllable)[2] with good reason suggested to the Syriac punctuator[3] that the form was a Hebrew segholate noun of the *qatl* type. Hence he used the equivalent Syriac form *q^etel*[4].

In its ܢܦܬܐ ܕܘܪ in Joshua 17:11, the Peshitto departs from precedent in regard to the word Naphath, in that an attempt is made to translate the troublesome שְׁלֹשֶׁת הַנָּפֶת of that verse. The numeral "three" before הַנָּפֶת must have seemed to demand a rendering of the noun. This ܢܦܬܐ is the plural of ܢܦܬܐ which is defined[5] as meaning primarily "angulus"; metaphorically it may

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[1] Levy, *Neuhebr. u. Chald. Wörterbuch*, s.v.; Dalman, *Aram. u. Neuhebr. Wörterbuch*.

[2] It appears that the ε in the second syllable was the vowel used by the Greek translator to indicate the short construct vowel ־ of נָפַת. Compare the rendering Ραμεθ (L) for רָמַת of Josh. 13:26—see also Josh. 19:8.— Only in Νεφαδδωρ of I Kings 4:11 (A) do we find *a* in the second syllable.

[3] It is quite certain that the Syriac translator or translators also used the Greek for comparison. Inasmuch as the Hebrew text was unpointed, it was quite natural for the punctuator to adopt in case of doubt the vowels supplied by the Greek.

[4] In Payne Smith's *Thesaurus Syriacus* ܢܦܬܐܕܘܪ is not given at all. This omission should be supplied, and the word listed under both ܢܦܬ and ܢܦ, with the observation that the Syriac punctuation is due to a mistake.— Another evident oversight in Payne Smith is the omission of any reference to the town name ܕܘܪ.

[5] Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.* I, Col. 1093, under root ܙܘܐ.

signify "plagae caeli", and is used "de 7 terrae zonis sive climatibus"; the word is also employed in the sense of "principes". Quite a difference in meaning between נֹפַת, "height" and ܙܘܝܐ, "anguli"! The probable explanation of ܙܘܝܐ is the following: In the Hebrew the word for "corner" is פֵּנָּה; the plural is פִּנּוֹת. The שְׁלֹשֶׁת preceding הַנָּפַת would seem to the translator to indicate that the latter was plural[1]. Evidently the Syriac translator interpreted the singular נֹפַת in the unpointed Hebrew text as the plural פִּנּוֹת, by the easy transposition of נ and פ. This פִּנּוֹת would then in the Syriac be translated ܙܘܝܐ, "angles" or "corners". In the Φεννεδδωρ of Josh. 11:2; 12:23 (B text) the translator may have found warrant for transposing the first two consonants. Moreover, the five towns he mentions in this verse (i. e. Bethshean, Jibleam, En-dor, Taanach and Megiddo—Dor is omitted in the Syriac), might easily have seemed to him, with his probably rather hazy idea of the relative positions of the places, to form a rough triangle, a "three corners" (ܙܘܝܐ)[2]. This supposedly triangular shape of the district might have confirmed his faith in the correctness of his rendering. But when Dor is substituted, as it should be, for Endor[3], this argument from the shape of the district would be weakened. The interpretation of Naphath as "height", we must conclude, best fits the facts and the verses in which the name occurs.

The peculiar and probably impossible form הַנָּפַת in שְׁלֹשֶׁת הַנָּפַת (in the Hebrew of Joshua 17:11) requires some explanation. Evidently נֹפַת is in the construct state in the other instances where it is used (viz. in Joshua 11:2; 12:23; 1 Kings 4:11), and is therefore to be translated "height of" or "heights of" Dor. As will be shown in the discussion of the verse, נֹפַת in Josh. 17:11 was likewise *originally* a construct form. It seems probable, that is, that we have to do with a marginal gloss, שְׁלִשְׁתָה נֹפַת, whose purpose it was to record a variant and superior reading of the name of the *third* city in the enumeration: נֹפַת דֹּאר instead of

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[1] See the discussion of Joshua 17:11 on pp. 45 ff.

[2] Cp. Trinacria.

[3] See the discussion of Joshua 17:11.

simply דֵאר. When the gloss strayed into the text, the ה became of necessity the article, and was attached to the following word, while נפת was pointed as a segholate noun (נֶפֶת, with the first vowel becoming ָ in the pause). But no such form would be possible from the root נוּף, nor does there seem to be any way of accounting for the form, other than the one just suggested. The proposal to pronounce the name as plural, הַנָּפֹת [1], is quite fruitless. The supposed segholate noun נֶפֶת should be omitted from our Hebrew lexicons.

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[1] Budde, Holzinger, Kittel, et al.

THE NAME ṬANṬŪRA.

The name of the modern town is given by travelers under the three forms: Ṭanṭūra[1], Arabic طَنْطُورَة[2], Ṭarṭūra[3], Arabic طَرْطُورَة, and Ṭorṭūra[4], Arabic, طُرْطُورَة. In reality these are variant forms of the same name[5]; the letters r and n belong to the same organ and are therefore, especially in borrowed words, easily interchanged. The words ṭanṭūr, ṭarṭūr and ṭorṭūr (also ṭonṭūr) all denote a pointed or peaked cap, formerly worn by the Bedouin of Egypt, and still in use among the dervishes of Egypt and Syria. They also signify the horn of bone or metal used as part of the head-dress by Maronite and Druse women in Syria[6].

Dozy derives the word from the verb طَرْطَرَ, "gloriatus fuit" or "in altum sustulit, elevavit." But طَرْطَرَ does not seem to be a native Arabic verb at all, and Fraenkel[7] rightly rejects this derivation. It is, on the contrary, extremely probable that طَرْطَرَ is a denominative verb from the noun طُرْطُور. In the Arabic language, therefore, no derivation can be discovered for the nominal form. In all probability the word is quite foreign to the language and has

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[1] Van de Velde, *Narrat.* I: 333 (1854); Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, II: 249; Wilson, *Picturesque Pal.*, pp. 114 ff.; Guérin, *Sam.* 2:305 f.; *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 3; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.*, p. 128; Baedeker (4), pp. 231 f.

[2] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1887, p. 181, no. 38. Guérin writes طَنْثُورا.

[3] Chevalier d'Arvieux (c. 1700) in Labat, *Merkwürdige Nachrichten*, part II, pp. 11-13; Buckingham, *Trav. in Pal.*, p. 123 (1821).

[4] Pococke, *Description of the East*, II, p. 57 (1745); Irby and Mangles, *Travels in Egypt*, etc.. p. 59 (1844); Munk, *Palestine*, p. 59 (1845)—this writer says the town is called by the Arabs Ras-el-hedjl (i. e. "head of the plain"). —Instead of the feminine ending ة, the three names are sometimes given with the masc. s.

[5] Dozy, *Vêtements*. pp. 262 ff., Suppl. II: 36; Fraenkel, *Aramäische Fremd-wörter*, p. 53; *P.E.F.Q.*, 1896, p. 171; *S.W.P., Name Lists*, pp. 141, 117; Arabic Dictionaries.

[6] Dozy, *loc. cit.*

[7] *Loc. cit.*

been borrowed from without. This fact doubtless accounts for the variations we find in the writing, both in its use as a common noun and as a designation of ancient Dor.

Fleischer[1], followed by Fraenkel[2] and Jastrow[3], suggests that the Aramaic טַרְטִין[4], a plural noun meaning "Kopfbedeckungen, Müt-zen", is connected with the Arabic طُرْطُور (and its variants) of Dozy[5]. He finds no Aramaic origin for טַרְטִין. Fraenkel raises the question whether it be a genuine Aramaic word at all. Levy[6] suggests "teretes"[7], Jastrow "turritum" (capitis ornamentum), as the Latin original of the Aramaic word.

Thus the Arabic طُرْطُور and the Aramaic טַרְטִין, both signifying head-covering or cap, stand isolated in their respective languages and yet in apparent connexion one with the other. Both seem to be borrowed, and the original must be sought in some language with which the people of Syria and Arabia came into contact. The conquest of these lands by Alexander opened the way for Greek influence upon the native languages, and the Roman settlers after Pompey brought in many Latin words; in either the Greek or the Latin, then, the original word is probably to be sought.

The Latin "tentorium" (English "tent"—in Middle Latin it is also used to signify an "umbrella "[8]) seems to be the most probable original of both (8)طَنْطُور and טַרְטִין. In borrowed words the ten-dency is to conform at first rather closely to the original form; later the word is changed to accommodate it more nearly to the language into which it is taken. The Aramaic form as borrowed from the Latin "tentorium" was probably טַנְטוּר, the "ium" as usual drop-ping off. Metathesis in borrowed words is very common and fol-

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[1] In his supplementary notes in J. Levy, *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, Vol. II, p. 210 (1879).

[2] *Die Aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.*, p. 53 (1886).

[3] *Dict. of the Targumim*, etc., p. 552b (1903).

[4] Jastrow vocalizes טַרְטִין.

[5] S. Krauss (*Griech. u. Latein. Lehnwörter im Talmud*, etc., II, pp. 271 ff.) questions, but without sufficient reason, this definition of טַרְטִין.

[6] *Neuhebr. u. Chald. Wörterbuch*, s.v.

[7] Plural of adj. teres, "rounded off"; fig. "smooth".

[8] Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, s.v.

lows no fixed laws[1]. Consequently the transposition of ‫נ‬ and ‫ר‬ in this word resulting in the form ‫טַרְטִין‬ is not an unusual phenomenon. The ending *īn* was later regarded as plural.

In the Arabic a somewhat similar process took place. The oldest form of the noun is very likely طَنْطُور , practically a transliteration of tentor(ium). Next the n assimilated to the r of the last syllable and the form طَرْطُور came into being. Last of all the vowel of the penultimate syllable was assimilated to the ’ of the ultima, and the form طُرْطُور was the result. This last is the most typically Arabic form of the three[2]. This explanation of the probable history of the word is confirmed by the fact that at the time Dozy wrote (in 1845) the word was in different stages of its development in various countries[3]. In Syria the form ṭanṭoura was used; in Egypt, ṭarṭour; and in Algiers, ṭorṭora. This illustrates also the fact that in Syria each of these forms was used at one time or another, and probably more than one form was in accepted use at the same time. It explains, too, the persistence or recurrence of the older form Ṭanṭūra in the name of the modern town, although Ṭorṭūra is apparently the more recent version of the name. These various forms of the word seem to be used interchangeably, now one, now another, being in current use.

The derivation from the Latin "tentorium" thus takes into account the various changing forms ṭanṭūr, ṭarṭūr and ṭorṭūr. Levy's suggestion[4] that ‫טַרְטִין‬ is derived from the rather far-fetched "teretes", as well as Jastrow's[5] proposal of "turritum" must be rejected. The derivation from "tentorium" has also this superiority to the other suggestions—we can see that the name

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[1] E. g. σκύφος becomes in the Talmud ‫סוּפְקָא‬ (S. Krauss, *Griech. u. Lat.*, etc., I, pp. 113 ff.). Cp. also Syr. ‫קְרְדְלָא‬ from καλδάριον, Arab. صِيف from ‫צִנִיף‬, دِمَقْس from مِلَقْس (μέταξα), زِرْنِيق from ἀρσένικον, and many others.

[2] The form ṭonṭura also cited by Dozy (*loc. cit.*) is simply a variant form in which the assimilation of the vowel ’ preceded that of the consonant ‫ר‬.

[3] Dozy, *Vêtements*, pp. 262 ff.

[4] Page 29.

[5] *Ibid.*

might quite easily be applied to a head-covering. The peaked cap known under the name of ṭanṭūr bears some resemblance to a tent both in shape and in the open space within; like a tent it is a covering. The Middle Latin use of the word "tentorium" to denote "umbrella" is a suggestive parallel.

Through what channels did this word make its way into the Aramaic and the Arabic respectively? The Aramaic-speaking peoples came into immediate contact with the Roman legions and colonists. In all probability they took over their טַנְטוּר directly from the Romans, later changing the form to טַרְטִין. The Arabs, however, did not usually come into such direct relations with the Greek and Roman settlers; it is a fact that most of their Greek and Roman loan-words seem to have come by way of the Aramaic. It is furthermore most improbable that the same word should have been borrowed independently both by the Aramaic and the Arabic. The most probable explanation is, therefore, that the Arabs took over the word from the Aramaic-speaking peoples of Syria; these in their turn had borrowed it from the Romans.

The question of how this name came to be applied to the modern village, successor to ancient Dor, must be considered. Two other instances of the use of ṭanṭūr as a proper name suggest a possible answer. Ṭanṭūr Fer'on is the name given by natives to a tomb just outside Jerusalem which is distinguished by a pointed peak[1]. A natural mound outside Acre, said to have been used as a redoubt in a siege of that city, bears the designation "Tell el-Ṭanṭūr" ("Mound of the Peak")[2]. There was probably here at one time some sort of a peaked or pointed structure from which this name was derived. Is it not probable that in both these cases the name Ṭanṭūr was applied because of a real or fancied resemblance to the peaked cap or horn (ṭanṭūr)?

The application of the name Ṭanṭūra either to the ruins or to the town[3] was made in a similar way. Until January 15th, 1895 (when

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[1] This tomb is otherwise known as "Absalom's Pillar"; (Fleischer *zu Seetzen's Reisen* IV, 256; *S.W.P., Name Lists*, p. 319).

[2] *S.W.P., Name Lists*, pp. 117, 141.

[3] It is quite possible that the ruins were called Ṭanṭūra before the town received that name, perhaps even before the modern town came into being. The name does not seem to go back very far.

it collapsed)[1], the most striking feature in the neighborhood of Ṭanṭūra was a high tower, partly in ruins, situated on a rocky promontory north of the present town. This was clearly visible at every point from Carmel to Caesarea[2]. The tower was called el-Burj or Khirbet Ṭanṭūra, and in shape resembled somewhat the peaked cap or horn (ṭanṭūr). Doubtless this, the most characteristic and dominating feature of the vicinity, gave to the place its name, Ṭanṭūra. With the changes in the name of the peaked cap itself to ṭarṭūr and ṭorṭūr[3], the name of the ruins and town changed accordingly.

The ancient name of the town may have played a part in fixing the modern name Ṭanṭūra[4]. There is a marked resemblance in sound between Ṭanṭūra (or Ṭarṭūra or Ṭorṭūra) and Dora, the usual Greek form of the ancient name. In the Semitic languages the dentals d and ṭ sometimes pass over into one another[5], so that Dora might become Ṭora[6]. In fact the Tabula Peutingeriana[7] actually gives the name as Thora, which is equivalent to Ṭora. This would indicate that at a very early period (4th Cent. A. D.?) the name was sometimes pronounced with emphatic ṭ. That the distinction between د and ط is not always strictly observed in this very town is proved by the fact that Dr. Barth plainly heard the natives pronounce the name of the town as Dandora[8]. It appears quite prob-

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[1] Schumacher in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1895, p. 113. A. W. Cook, *Palestine*, 2:172 (1901) refers to the tower as though it were still standing. Baed. (4) (1906), pp. 231 f. makes the same error.

[2] Murray, *Handbook* (1875), p. 358; *P.E.F.Q.*, 1873, pp. 99 f.; Baed. (4) (1906), p. 231.

[3] See p. 30.

[4] The theory of Gesenius (*Thes.* 331) that Ṭarṭūra or Ṭorṭūra is to be interpreted طور دورا, "mons Dorae", is not at all probable. So Riehm, *Handwörterbuch* I, 285.

[5] Wright, *Comp. Gram.*, p. 53; Gesenius-Buhl, under ר, ט, ת; Lane 1819. In Turkish both د and ط can be pronounced either as d or t (Zenker, *Türk.-Arab.-Pers. Handwörterbuch*, pp. 418, 588.

[6] Cf. دِرياق = (τα) Θηριακά (Fraenkel, *Aram. Fremdw.*, p. 240). See also Ewald, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch* (1870), § 47 C.

[7] Ed. Desjardins, Seg. IX. The Tabula Peut. is probably of the 4th Cent. A. D.

[8] Ritter, *Erdkunde* XVI, 607-612; Riehm, *Handwörterbuch* I, 285. In Germany the Saxons in like manner often substitute d for t.

able, therefore, that the initial consonant of Dora was, occasionally at least, changed to emphatic ṭ, giving the form Ṭora. When later the ṭantūr-shaped ruined tower became the dominant feature of the landscape, the chance resemblance between the words Ṭora and ṭantūr may have suggested to some native punster the appropriateness of applying the name Ṭanṭūra to the ruins of Ṭora. Subsequently the inhabitants of the native town adopted the new name[1]—

The feminine ending of طَنْطُورَة is doubtless derived from the Aramaic determinative ending אָ[2].

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[1] Compare the adoption of the reproachful term "Christians" by the early church.

[2] Supra, p. 17.

THE GOLENISCHEFF PAPYRUS.

In that important and interesting document, named after its purchaser and first publisher the Golenischeff Papyrus[1], discovered in 1891 at Khibeh in upper Egypt, mention is made of the town of Dor. Hrihor, the High Priest of Amon, although not called King, seems to be in control at Thebes at the time (c. 1100 B. C.)[2] the events narrated in this document occurred; while Nesubenebded (Smendes), afterward the first king of the 21st dynasty, rules the Delta from his seat at Tanis. In response to an oracle, Hrihor despatches an official named Wenamon to Byblos to procure cedar from Lebanon for the construction of a new sacred barge for Amon. In addition to a meager supply of money and presents the messenger is given an image of the God, called "Amon-of-the-Way", which is to serve as a passport with the kings on his journey. Having encountered extraordinary difficulties in the fulfillment of his task, Wenamon upon his return makes out a long report of the mishaps that had interfered with the success of his mission. The Golenischeff Papyrus contains Wenamon's authentic report.

As first issued by Golenischeff the Papyrus seemed to indicate that the greater part of Wenamon's transactions, including the purchase of timber, took place at Dor[3]. According to the improved arrangement of the Papyrus fragments by Erman[4], however, the major part of this story has Byblos as its scene of action.

On the 16th day of the 11th month, in the 5th year (probably of Ramses XII) Wenamon left Thebes. At Tanis he was kindly

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[1] Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, vol. IV, pp. 274 ff.; *Hist. of Egypt*, pp. 513 ff.; W. M. Müller, *Asien. und Eur.*, pp. 388 f.; *Mit. Vorderasiat. Ges.* (1900), pp. 30 ff.; Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 470 (note).

[2] Breasted gives the date as the "fifth year of the last of the Ramessids (= Ramses XII, 1118-1090 B. C.), when he is but the shadow of a king"; Müller dates Ḥri-ḥor "nicht später als 1050, wahrscheinlich etwas früher".

[3] On the basis of this incorrect arrangement Guthe in 1908 (*Palästina*, pp. 74 f.) argues that in Wenamon's time the neighborhood of Dor was thickly wooded. Inasmuch as Erman had rearranged the fragments of the Papyrus in 1900 Guthe need not have made this error.

[4] In *Zeit. für Ägypt. Sprache* (1900) no. 38, pp. 1 ff.; Breasted, Müller and other scholars follow Erman's improvement in the order of fragments.

received by the ruling Nesubenebded, and sent on his way in a ship under the command of a Syrian captain. To quote from Wenamon's own account[1]: "Nesubenebded and Tentamon sent me with the ship-captain, Mengebet, and I descended into the great Syrian (Ḥ'-rw) sea, in the fourth month of the third season, on the first day. I arrived at Dor a city of Thekel (T̲'-k'-r'), and Bedel (B'-dy-r')[2], its king, caused to be brought forth for me much bread, a jar of wine, and a joint of beef.

"Then a man of my ship fled, having stolen:

— (vessels) of gold (amounting to)	5 deben
4 vessels of silver, amounting to	20 deben
A sack of silver	11 deben
(Total of what) he (stole)	5 deben of gold
	31 deben of silver.

(About 1⅕ lbs. of gold and about 7½ lbs. of silver—Breasted.)

"In the morning then I rose and went to the abode of the prince, and I said to him: 'I have been robbed in thy harbor. Since thou art the king of this land, thou art therefore its investigator, who should search for my money. For the money belongs to Amon-Re, King of Gods, the lord of the lands; it belongs to Nesubenebded, and it belongs to Hrihor, my lord, and the other magnates of Egypt; it belongs also to Weret (W'rty), and to Mekmel[3] (M-k'-m-rw), and to Zakar-Baal (T̲'-k'-rw-B-'-r')[4], the prince of Byblos[5]'."

"He said to me: 'To thy honor and thy excellence! but behold I know nothing of this complaint which thou hast lodged with me. If the thief belonged to my land, he who went on board (Lit., descended into) thy ship, that he might steal thy treasure, I would repay it to thee from my treasury, till they find thy thief by name; but the thief who robbed thee belongs to thy ship. Tarry a few days here with me and I will seek him'."

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[1] Breasted, *Ancient Records*, IV, pp. 278-9; cp. Erman in *Zeit. für Ägypt. Sprache*, no. 38, pp. 6 ff.

[2] Müller (*As. und Eur.*, p. 388) transliterates the name Bi-d-ïra.

[3] There is here given first the Egyptians who sent the valuables, and then the Syrians to whom it was to be paid.

[4] =זכר־בעל.

[5] This indicates the locality where Wenamon expects to buy the timber.

"When I had spent nine days moored in his harbor, I went to him and said to him: 'Behold, thou hast not found my money (therefore let me depart) with the ship-captain and with those who go . . .'" (four lines are lost here and an uncertain amount more.)

(Some twenty-three additional lines are missing here) " . . . the sea. He said to me: 'Be silent . . .'" (three lines containing but a few broken words; among them a reference to searching for the thieves. The journey from Dor to Tyre is somewhere in these lacunae.)

On his way from Tyre to Byblos, Wenamon in some way meets some of the Thekel with a bag (?) of silver weighing 30 deben. He seized this as security for the 31 deben of silver he had lost. Four months and 12 days after his departure from Thebes, he arrives at Byblos. Having come in an ordinary merchant ship without rich gifts, Wenamon is ordered by Zakar-Baal to leave. But after 19 days one of the noble youths attendant upon Zakar-Baal falls into a prophetic ecstasy and demands that Wenamon be summoned and treated with honor. The king in conversation with Wenamon asserts his independence of Egypt and requires Wenamon to send to Egypt for part payment of the timber he wishes to secure. After the return of Wenamon's messenger with gold and silver and other valuables, the desired logs are delivered by the king. Upon promising to pay the balance Wenamon is permitted to embark. But to his despair he discovers eleven Thekel (Takkara) ships outside the harbor, waiting to arrest him, doubtless because of his seizure of silver from the Thekel he had met between Tyre and Byblos. Zakar-Baal on the following day calls the Thekel fleet to an interview, during which Wenamon embarks and escapes. Contrary winds, however, drive him to Cyprus (Alasa), where he barely escapes being killed by the populace. He manages to secure an audience with the Queen and is protected by her. The report here breaks off and we do not know how Wenamon finally managed to reach Egypt.

The Thekel (or Takkari), whom Wenamon finds settled at Dor, had begun entering Syria under Ramses III (1198–1167 B. C.) 80 years or more before. In his eighth year Ramses met and decisively routed in Syria by land and sea a number of maritime tribes who had made common cause with the invading Libyans.

According to the Medinet Habu inscriptions[1], these tribes consisted of the Peleset (Pw-r'-s'-ṭ), the Thekel (T̲'-k-k'-r'), the Shekelesh (Š'-k-rw-š'), the Denyen (D'-y-n-yw) and the Weshesh (W'-š'-š'). Papyrus Harris[2] adds to this list the Sherden. These sea-peoples seem to have come from the coast and islands of Asia Minor[3]. Müller[4] rejects the etymological identification of the name Takkari with Teucri[5], on the ground that the double k makes this impossible. Maspero[6] and Breasted[7] are inclined to see in them the Siculi (or Sikeli).

Apparently these invading tribes received only a temporary setback in their defeat by Ramses III. In the reference in Wenamon's account to the presence of Takkari at Dor we have proof that within less than a hundred years Ramses' temporarily defeated opponents have firmly established themselves in Syria[8]. Their realm seems to have extended along the entire coast from Carmel to the Egyptian border. In the north were the Takkari; farther south were settled the Philistines and the remaining tribes[9]. Whether they came as a genuine "Völkerwanderung"[10], or simply as mercenaries and robbers[11] who afterward settled down to agricultural and commercial life, there is hardly sufficient evidence to decide.

Under the weak successors of Ramses III these tribes seem to have established their complete independence. It has been shown that the Egyptian messenger, Wenamon, is treated with scant cere-

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[1] Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, IV, pp. 36 ff.; Müller, *As. u. Eur.*, pp. 359 ff.

[2] Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, IV, § 403.

[3] Müller, *As. u. Eur.*, pp. 360 f.; ibid., *Mit. Vorderasiat. Ges.*, V (1900), p. 4; Hommel, *Grundriss*, pp. 27 f.; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.*, p. 197.

[4] *Mit. V. A. Ges.*, V (1900) p. 1.

[5] Hommel, *Grundriss*, pp. 27 f.

[6] *Struggle*, p. 464.

[7] *Anc. Rec.*, IV, p. 33.

[8] Maspero's theory (*Struggle*, p. 470) that Ramses III planted his captive Pulusati, etc., along this coast to safeguard the Egyptian frontier is improbable and lacks confirmation. More probably he was unable to keep them back.

[9] Paton, *Early Hist. of Pal. and Syria*, p. 148; W.M.M. in *Mit. V. A. Ges.* (1900), p. 1; Ed. Meyer, in *Enc. Bib.* III, 3735.

[10] So Breasted, IV, p. 33; Ed. Meyer, l. c.

[11] W.M.M., *As. u. Eur.*, p. 360.

mony both at Dor and at Byblos[1]. The king of Dor pays little
attention to the complaint about the robbery, and later the Takkari
fleet has no hesitation in pursuing Wenamon.

Dor seems to be at this period a town of some importance. A
fleet is maintained and the king carries himself with apparent dig-
nity and confidence. He seems to have very little fear before the
accredited representative of Egypt. The tribal name of the inhabi-
tants of Dor (i. e. Takkara) does not again appear either in the Old
Testament or in other literature[2]. Probably they were absorbed
into one stock with the more important and powerful Philistines[3].

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[1] We must, however, make due allowance for the probability that Wena-
mon's story is colored by his desire to justify his failure to fulfill his mis-
sion. By picturing the kings as unfriendly he would more easily excuse
his failure.

[2] Unless "alu Zaḳ-ḳa-lu-û" of 4R34, No. 2 refers to them. See below,
pp. 39 f.

[3] Erman, *Zeit. für Ägypt. Sprache*, 38:1 ff.

DOR IN ASSYRIAN LITERATURE.

The town Dor is mentioned, together with other cities of Syria, in an Assyrian geographical list (2R53, No. 1, Rev.). Unfortunately this list is only a fragment and we are unable to determine its exact context. Probably it is the enumeration of conquests or tributary cities of some Assyrian ruler[1]. The transliteration of lines 35 to 41 follows[2]:

line 35	alu Di-maš-ka	(Damascus)
	alu Kar-ni-ni	(?)
	alu Ha-ma-at-(ti)	(Hamath)
	alu Ha-ta-rik-(ka)	(Hadrach)
	alu Man-su-a-te	(Mansuat)
line 40	alu Du-'-ru	(Dōr)
	alu Su-bat, alu Ha-ma-a-tu	(Zōbā; Chamāth)

Dor is written:

Again in a similar fragmentary list of Syrian cities, whose exact purport is unknown, Dor occurs, this time between Damascus and Megiddo (2R53, No. 4)[3]:

line 55	alu Sa-me-ri-na	(Samaria)
	alu Di-maš-ka	(Damascus)
	alu Du-'-ru	(Dōr)
	alu Ma-gi-du-u	(Megiddo)
	alu Man-su-a-tu	(Mansuat)
line 60	alu Si-mir-ra	(Zemār)[4]

Here again Dor is written with medial ' (= א).

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[1] G. Rawlinson (*Anc. Monarchies* II, p. 397 f.) evidently with this list and the one next to be discussed in mind, names Tiglath-Pileser III as the ruler in question; he adds that " Dor was even thought of sufficient consequence to receive an Assyrian governor ". The information contained in the two references to the town does not furnish material on which to base either of his deductions.

[2] Following Schrader's transliteration in *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung.* p. 122.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

[4] The balance of the fragment (lines 61, 62) is broken off.

As in Josh. 12:23; 17:11; Judg. 1:27; 1 Chron. 7:29; Dor is mentioned in this latter list in close connection with Megiddo. It would seem that these cities were connected in a way that led naturally to their being mentioned together. The fact that Dor appears in the list with these other cities of northern Syria makes it practically certain that the city is the one we are discussing, and not some other of the numerous cities with that name. The writing with a medial breathing ' corresponds to the more correct דאר. Apparently Dor is at the time of this inscription (sometime before 605 B. C.) a town of enough importance to be worth enumerating among the principal cities of the West. The town is not unknown in the land of Assyria.

Hommel[1] is inclined to identify the city Zakkalū (Zak-ka-lu-ú) of 4R34, No. 2 with Dor. This document is a letter written by a high Babylonian official to an Assyrian[2]. In it mention is twice (lines 41, 45) made of "ᵃˡᵘZak-ka-lu-ú," where one of them had waited (in vain?) a whole day for the other. The identification of Dor with Zak-ka-lu-ú is, however, very precarious. The name as we have it in Egyptian references[3] is written with simple k (כ) and not as here, with ḳ (ק). Furthermore, we have no evidence that Dor was ever called Zakkara or the "Zakkalite town." Hommel's contention[4] that the name Dor is derived from Takkar might, if true, indicate that Dor is the town referred to in this letter; but it has been shown that his derivation of the name lacks all semblance of probability. Until we find good evidence that Dor was also called Zakkara or "the Zakkalite town", we must omit 4R34, No. 2 from the list of references to Dor in Assyrian or Babylonian literature.

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[1] *Geschichte,* pp. 432 f.: *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology,* (1895) 17:203; *Anc. Heb. Trad.,* pp. 233 f.

[2] Tiele (*Bab-Assyr. Geschichte,* p. 145), however, holds that the letter is from an Assyrian to a Babylonian prince.

[3] Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* IV, p. 278 (Ṭ'-k'-r), pp. 36 ff. (Ṭ'-k-k'-r'); Müller, *As. u. Eur.,* p. 388 ; Hommel, *Grundriss,* pp. 27 ff.

[4] *Grundriss, l. c.*; see above p. 20.

DOR IN THE OLD TESTAMENT AND THE APOCRYPHA.

JOSHUA 11:2.

The first Biblical reference[1] to Dor is in Joshua 11:2, in connection with the conquest of Canaan by Joshua. In chapter 10 the subjugation of the southern portion of the land has been described. Chapter 11 continues the story by narrating the events connected with Joshua's conquest of the kings in the northern half of Canaan. According to this account Jabin, King of Hazor[2], forms a coalition of these northern kings to oppose Joshua. He sends to Jobab, King of Madon, and to the Kings of Shimron and Achshaph (Josh. 11:1); he also sends (Josh. 11:2):

(2) וְאֶל־הַמְּלָכִים אֲשֶׁר מִצְּפוֹן בָּהָר וּבָעֲרָבָה נֶגֶב כִּנֲרוֹת וּבַשְּׁפֵלָה
וּבְנָפוֹת דּוֹר מִיָּם

(3a) הַכְּנַעֲנִי מִמִּזְרָח וּמִיָּם וְהָאֱמֹרִי וְהַחִתִּי וגו'

"And to the kings who were on the north, in the hill-country, and in the Arabah over against[3] Chinneroth, and in the Shephelah and in the heights of Dor on the west, to the Canaanites on the east and on the west, and the Amorites, and the Hittites, etc." The Greek (B) reads: (2) καὶ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς τοὺς κατὰ Σιδῶνα τὴν μεγάλην, εἰς τὴν ὀρεινὴν καὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥαβὰ ἀπέναντι Κενερώθ, καὶ εἰς τὸ πεδίον καὶ εἰς Φεναεδδώρ, (3) καὶ εἰς τοὺς παραλίους (3)Χαναναίους ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν, καὶ εἰς τοὺς παραλίους Ἀμορραίους καὶ Εὐαίους, κτλ. Variant: For Φεναεδδώρ, A* gives Ναφεδωρ, A'F offer Ναφεθδωρ. The form Φεναεδδώρ has clearly arisen from the simple transposition of the syllables να and φε in Ναφεθδώρ. The second ε in φεναεδδωρ may represent a misreading of the uncial letter θ as ε; the doubling of the δ may be a correction from φεννεδδώρ of Josh. 12:23. Apparently this Greek form is based, not on נָפוֹת as in the text here, but on נָפַת as in the other passages[4].

For מִצְּפוֹן in the Hebrew of verse 2 we should probably read מִצָּפוֹן, since there is no occasion for the use of the status con-

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[1] That is, first in order of book and chapter, not in order of composition.

[2] Cf. Judges 4:2, 17.

[3] See below for change to נֶגֶד.

[4] The large number of variants in the writing of this name illustrates how proper names change in transmission from one language to another.

structus here[1]. The reading of the Greek: κατὰ Σιδῶνα τὴν μεγάλην, is certainly to be rejected. Σιδῶνα arose from a misreading of מצדון as מצפון. It would seem that the Greek translator read here מצדון רבה בהר instead of מצפון בהר [2]. Quite possibly he was influenced by צידון רַבָּה of verse 8. The Greek has ἀπέναντι for the hardly possible נֶגֶב and points, therefore, to נֶגֶד as the original reading[3]. מִיָּם is read by the Greek with the following verse and mistranslated, καὶ εἰς τοὺς παραλίους, κτλ.; the Greek translates מִיָּם of verse 3 in exactly the same way; whereas מִיָּם should be rendered "on the West", or "westward"[4].

The reference in verse 2 is throughout to regions or districts. הָר refers to the mountainous territories in northern Samaria and Galilee[5]; by עֲרָבָה נֶגֶד כִּנֲרוֹת is probably meant the Jordan valley near the Sea of Galilee and perhaps also the plain to the west of the sea[6]; שְׁפֵלָה refers to the low hills between the Central Range and the coast plain[7]. In like manner the term נָפוֹת דּוֹר must signify the hilly district east of Dor including the ridge extending from Carmel to Caesarea[8].

Verse 2 seems to be a later insertion in the text, dating from the earlier part of the Persian Period[9]. So far as the event it purports to record is concerned, it has very little historical value. It does, however, reflect the conviction of a later supplementer that the region Naphath Dor was important in earlier times. Doubtless he based this conclusion upon the prominence of the district and of the city of Dor in his own time. Not even are names assigned to the shadowy kings of these vaguely defined districts. We can hardly

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[1] Bennett, *S.B.O.T.*; Holzinger, *K.H.A.T.*; Steuernagel.

[2] Margolis in *A.J.S.L.*, XXVIII (1911), p. 12.

[3] Steuernagel, et al.

[4] The translator's knowledge of Hebrew is perhaps defective (*A.J.S.L.*, XXVIII, p. 13).

[5] Steuernagel, Holzinger.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Not the coast plain itself (as in Steuernagel and Holzinger), G.A.S., *Hist. Geog.*, p. 203; S. R. Driver in Hast., *D.B.*, III, 894.

[8] See the discussion of the name Naphath Dor, pp. 21 ff.

[9] Bennett assigns it to D[2]; Carpenter and Battersby to R[d], an expansion of vv. 1, 4–9 (J); Steuernagel to D[2]; Holzinger to "JE[3]? D? jünger?" Verse 1 is much older.

suppose, therefore, that the late writer of this verse had any distinct individuals in mind.

JOSHUA 12 : 22, 23.

The twelfth chapter of Joshua gives a list of the kings subdued by the Israelites in the course of their conquest of Canaan, verses 1–6 covering the East-Jordan region and verses 7–24 the rulers west of the Jordan. In the list of kings defeated by Joshua in the West-Jordan country appears the King of Dor. Josh. 12 : 22, 23 reads:

(22) מֶלֶךְ קֶדֶשׁ אֶחָד
מֶלֶךְ יָקְנְעָם לַכַּרְמֶל אֶחָד:
(23) מֶלֶךְ דּוֹר לְנָפַת דּוֹר אֶחָד
מֶלֶךְ גּוֹיִם לְגִלְגָּל אֶחָד

The King of Kedesh: ⸱ One.
The King of Jokneam, i. e., the Carmel district: One.
The King of Dor, i. e., the Height of Dor: One.
The King of the Nations, i. e., the District (= Galilee): One[1].

The Greek (B) reads: (21, 22) βασιλέα Κάδης, Βασιλέα Ζακάχ, Βασιλέα Μαρεδὼθ καὶ βασιλέα Ἰεκὸμ τοῦ Χερμέλ, (23) βασιλέα Ἐλδώμ τοῦ Φεννεδδώρ, βασιλέα Γεεὶ τῆς Γαλειλαίας.

Codex A is here, as usual, far superior to B. In verses 21, 22 ·both the order and name-forms of the Hebrew are much more faithfully and more correctly reproduced by A. 1t has Θαναχ, Μαγεδδων, Κεδες and Ιεκοναμ. In verse 23, A offers instead of Ἐλδώμ the form Αδδώρ. Evidently Αδ is the combination of the final vowel of βασιλέα with the initial consonant of Δωρ—a clear case of dittography. A also offers in this verse the superior reading, Ναφεδδωρ. In this form the δδ instead of θδ is probably to be accounted for by the fact that, in the cursive manuscripts, θ and δ are written so much alike that they are easily confused[2]. For Γεει, A reads Γωειμ, and for Γαλειλαίας it has Γελγεα (i. e. Γελγελ, Λ in an uncial manuscript

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[1] See the discussion following, for departures from the usual rendering of this passage.

[2] Maunde Thompson, *Hdbk. of Gk. and Lat. Paleography*, Table opp. p. 148. There may also have been an unconscious assimilation in speech or writing of the θ to the δ.—For a fuller discussion of the word, see the chapter on Naphath Dor.

having been read A). In this last instance, Γαλαλαίας of B is doubt-
less to be preferred to the readings of A and the Hebrew. In
agreement with the B-text the Hebrew here ought probably to be
emended so as to read לַגְּלִיל[1]. It is probable that, as in כַּרְמֶל of
verse 22, נָפַת דּוֹר of verse 23 and שָׁרוֹן in verse 18, a district is
referred to. We know of no district called גִּלְגָּל; but the name
גְּלִיל is applied to the region on the northern border of Israel's ter-
ritory[2]. Doubtless this is the district here meant.

The reference in verse 23 above is to דּוֹר לְנָפַת דּוֹר. The
preposition לְ of לְנָפַת is rendered by the American Revised Ver-
sion (and usually) "in". The same interpretation of לְ is generally
given in לְגִלְגָּל (verse 23) and לַכַּרְמֶל (verse 22)[3]. In all these
cases, however, the preposition seems rather to be meant in the
sense of "namely", "i. e." This usage is exactly the same as that
found in classical Arabic[4]. An excellent illustration of this use of
לְ is found in Ezek. 44:5: לְכָל־חֻקּוֹת בֵּית־יְהוָה וּלְכָל־תּוֹרֹתָיו
"Namely, all the statutes of the house of Jehovah and (namely)
all its laws". Again in Ezek. 44:9 the expression, לְכָל־בֶּן־נֵכָר
should be rendered: "namely (or "i. e.") every foreigner". This
use of לְ seems to have escaped the translators of our English
Bible.

In accord with this interpretation we must translate Joshua
12:22, 23 above:

(22) The king of Kedesh:	One[5].
The king of Jokneam (i. e., Carmel):	One.
(23) The king of Dor (i. e., the Heights of Dor):	One.
The king of Nations (i. e., the District):	One.

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[1] So Dillman, Kittel, Holzinger, Bennett, Steuernagel.

[2] B.D.B. s.v. גְּלִיל.

[3] To these instances should be added לְשָׁרוֹן in verse 18. This verse
must be emended to read מֶלֶךְ אֲפֵק לַשָּׁרוֹן אֶחָד (So Bennett, Holzinger,
Steuernagel, et al.).

[4] See especially Torrey, _Ezra Studies_, pp. 121f., 273; _Comp. and Hist.
Value of Ezra-Neh._, p. 18; Wright, _Gram._ (3), II, 151 C; Ges.-Buhl (13),
Handwörterbuch, under לְ, §8b.

[5] The numeral "one" does not appear in the Greek, which is here quite
corrupt.

Similarly the emended text of verse 18 is to be rendered:

(18) The king of Aphek (i. e., Sharon): One.

In all these instances either the original compiler of the list or a later glossator introduces by means of the preposition ל a more comprehensive designation of the whole realm ruled by each king. By the "King of Dor", accordingly, is meant the ruler not only of Dor proper but as well of the whole district above the city known as Naphath Dor[1].

The list of kings in Joshua 12:7–24 seems to come from a writer of the Deuteronomic school[2]. It dates, therefore, from the Persian period. Inasmuch as Dor can hardly have come under the domination of the Hebrews until a much later date[3], it is most improbable that Joshua really defeated the King of Dor. Consequently the notice in verse 23 merely reflects the opinion of a Deuteronomic editor writing in the Persian period as to the probable extent of Joshua's conquests.

JOSHUA 17:11-13, JUDGES 1:27, 28, 1 CHRONICLES 7:29.

Following the account of the conquest of Palestine in the first half of the book, Joshua 12-24 deals with the apportionment of the territory. Chapters 16, 17 give a very confused description of the borders of the "children of Joseph," i. e., Ephraim and the western half-tribe of Manasseh. After the south border of the two tribes as a whole, and the borders of Ephraim have been described in chapter 16, Joshua 17 continues with the borders of Manasseh. Verses 11-13 then give a list of cities located in Issachar and Asher ideally assigned to Manasseh, of which the tribe was, however, unable to secure possession.

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[1] The use here of Naphath Dor in parallel construction with the districts Carmel, Galilee and Sharon (compare Josh. 11:2) is fairly conclusive evidence that the term refers to a region dependent on or adjacent to the city of Dor, and is not merely another name for the city itself. See the chapter on Naphath Dor.

[2] Bennett assigns it to D²; Carpenter and Battersby to R^d; Steuernagel to the Deut. school. Holzinger is inclined to assign it to P^g, though perhaps in dependence on JE.

[3] It is open to doubt whether Dor itself ever came under Hebrew rule. At least there is no satisfactory evidence to prove that it did.

(11) וַיְהִי לִמְנַשֶּׁה בְּיִשָּׂשׁכָר וּבְאָשֵׁר בֵּית־שְׁאָן וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ וְיִבְלְעָם
וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ וְאֶת־יֹשְׁבֵי דֹאר וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ וְיֹשְׁבֵי עֵין־דֹּר וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ
וְיֹשְׁבֵי תַעְנַךְ וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ וְיֹשְׁבֵי מְגִדּוֹ וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ שְׁלֹשֶׁת הַנָּפֶת

(12) וְלֹא יָכְלוּ בְּנֵי מְנַשֶּׁה לְהוֹרִישׁ אֶת־הֶעָרִים הָאֵלֶּה וַיּוֹאֶל
הַכְּנַעֲנִי לָשֶׁבֶת בָּאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת:

(13) וַיְהִי כִּי חָזְקוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּתְּנוּ אֶת־הַכְּנַעֲנִי לָמַס וְהוֹרֵשׁ לֹא
הוֹרִישׁוֹ

(11) "And Manasseh had in Issachar and in Asher: Beth-shean
and its dependencies, and Ibleam and its dependencies, and the
inhabitants of Dor and its dependencies, and the inhabitants of
Endor and its dependencies, and the inhabitants of Taanach and its
dependencies, and the inhabitants of Megiddo and its dependencies
(Third in it is Naphath)[1].

(12) Yet the children of Manasseh were unable to dispossess
those cities; but the Canaanites persisted in dwelling in that
region.

(13) And it came to pass, when the children of Israel became
strong enough, that they put the Canaanites in the working gangs,
but by no means dispossessed them."

The Greek (B) reads:

(11) καὶ ἔσται Μανασσὴ ἐν Ισσαχὰρ καὶ ἐν Ἀσὴρ Καιθοὰν καὶ αἱ κῶμαι
αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Δὼρ καὶ τὰς κώμας αὐτῆς, καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας
Μαγεδδὼ καὶ τὰς κώμας αὐτῆς, καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῆς Μαφετὰ καὶ τὰς κώμας αὐτῆς.

(12) καὶ οὐκ ἠδυνάσθησαν οἱ υἱοὶ Μανασσὴ ἐξολεθρεῦσαι τὰς πόλεις ταύτας
καὶ ἤρχετο ὁ Χαναναῖος κατοικεῖν ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ·

(13) καὶ ἐγενήθη καὶ ἐπεὶ κατίσχυσαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραήλ, καὶ ἐποίησαν τοὺς
Χαναναίους ὑπηκόους, ἐξολεθρεῦσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐξωλέθρευσαν.

In v.11 instead of Καιθοαν, B[a mg]A read more correctly Βαιθσαν.
For Δωρ, B[ab mg] reads Ἐδωρ. A has the form Μαγεδδωρ. A inserts
before καὶ τὸ τρίτον the phrase: καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Ταναχ καὶ τὰς
κώμας αὐτῆς. For Μαφετα, A has Ναφεθα. V.12: A has ἠδυνήθησαν.
For ἤρχετο, A reads ἤρξατο (Cp. Judg. 1:27). V.13: A omits the
second καὶ. For ἐπεὶ κατίσχυσαν B[b]A have ἐπικατίσχυσαν. For
ἐξολεθρεῦσαι, A reads ὀλεθρεῦσαι. In verse 11 the rendering of וַיְהִי
in the Greek as a future, ἔσται, is probably due to the carrying over

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[1] See discussion below.

into the narrative of the idea of divine command suggested by the
reference in verse 4 to Moses' injunctions. That this is actually
meant to be a future form is proved by its repetition in verses 8,
9, 10, and by καταβήσεται in verse 9.—In verses 12, 13, הוֹרִישׁ,
"to dispossess," is rendered ἐξολεθρεῦσαι, "to destroy utterly." (Cp.
ἐξαίρων in Judg. 1:27 (B), rendered by A there as ἐκληρονόμησεν).
This use of ἐξολεθρεῦσαι is another instance of free interpretation by
the translator, who was doubtless influenced in his rendering by
the record of the divine injunction to put these cities under the
ban (Cp. Josh. 8:2; 6:17, 21, 24).

Included in the first chapter of Judges we have a parallel to the
account in Joshua 17:11-13. According to this chapter the con-
quest of Canaan was not achieved by a single irresistible move-
ment of united Israel (as in the book of Joshua), but by a succes-
sion of attacks by single tribes or by coalitions consisting of several
tribes bound together by ancient ties or common interests. On
the whole the representation in Judges is more historical than that
in Joshua. After the narration of positive successes by Judah and
Simeon (1:1-20) and by the "House of Joseph" (1:22-26), there
follows a series of notices describing the failure of particular tribes
to dispossess the native Canaanites. The first of these notices
(1:27, 28) deals with the tribe of Manasseh, in whose allotted
territory was situated the town of Dor:

(27) וְלֹא הוֹרִישׁ מְנַשֶּׁה אֶת־בֵּית־שְׁאָן וְאֶת־בְּנוֹתֶיהָ וְאֶת־תַּעְנַךְ
וְאֶת־בְּנֹתֶיהָ וְאֶת־יֹשְׁבֵי(י) דוֹר וְאֶת־בְּנוֹתֶיהָ וְאֶת־יֹשְׁבֵי יִבְלְעָם
וְאֶת־בְּנוֹתֶיהָ וְאֶת־יוֹשְׁבֵי מְגִדּוֹ וְאֶת־בְּנוֹתֶיהָ וַיּוֹאֶל הַכְּנַעֲנִי
לָשֶׁבֶת בָּאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת:
(28) וַיְהִי כִּי־חָזַק יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיָּשֶׂם אֶת־הַכְּנַעֲנִי לָמַס וְהוֹרֵישׁ לֹא
הוֹרִישׁוֹ:

(27) "And Manasseh did not dispossess Beth-shean and its
dependencies, nor Taanach and its dependencies, nor the inhabitants
of Dor and its dependencies, nor the inhabitants of Ibleam and its
dependencies, nor the inhabitants of Megiddo and its dependencies;
but the Canaanites persisted in dwelling in that region.

(28) And it came to pass, when Israel became strong enough,
that they placed the Canaanites in the working gangs, but by no
means dispossessed them."

The Greek reads:

(27) καὶ οὐκ ἐξῆρεν Μανασσὴ τὴν Βαιθσάν, ἥ ἐστιν Σκυθῶν πόλις, οὐδὲ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῆς οὐδὲ τὰ περίοικα αὐτῆς, οὐδὲ τὴν Θανὰκ οὐδὲ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῆς, οὐδὲ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Δὼρ οὐδὲ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῆς, οὐδὲ τὸν κατοικοῦντα Βαλὰκ οὐδὲ τὰ περίοικα αὐτῆς οὐδὲ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῆς, οὐδὲ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Μαγεδὼ οὐδὲ τὰ περίοικα αὐτῆς οὐδὲ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῆς, οὐδὲ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Ἰεβλαὰμ οὐδὲ τὰ περίοικα αὐτῆς οὐδὲ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῆς· καὶ ἤρξατο ὁ Χαναναῖος κατοικεῖν ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ.

(28) καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐνίσχυσεν Ἰσραήλ, καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸν Χαναναῖον εἰς φόρον, καὶ ἐξαίρων οὐκ ἐξῆρεν αὐτόν.

For ἐξῆρεν in v. 27 of the Greek, A reads ἐκληρονόμησεν. (For Βαλακ it has Βαλααμ; this form stands in place of יִבְלְעָם of the Hebrew text and corresponds to it. (Cp. Βαλααδ in the Greek of 1 Chron. 7:29.) Evidently the initial ' has been lost because the final ' of the preceding יִשְׂבַ confused the copyist. (Cp. the copyist's error in the loss of the final ' of יִשְׂבַ before דּוֹר in this same verse.) Later, since the name Jibleam seemed to have been omitted in this list, someone added it *after* Megiddo, thus really repeating the name for Jibleam and giving six instead of five towns[1]. For περίοικα 1°, A gives περισπόρια; he omits it 2°, 3°, 4°. ἥ ἐστιν Σκυθῶν πόλις is probably an interpretative comment by the translator, or else a later gloss that has strayed into the text.

Again in 1 Chron. 7:29 there appears a notice similar to and doubtless derived from those in Josh. 17:11 and Judg. 1:27. In his notices contained in chapters 4-7 concerning the genealogies, history and military strength of the tribes, the Chronicler in chap. 7:14-29 groups together the two sons of Joseph. Verses 14-19 of chapter 7 give the genealogy of Manasseh, while verses 20-27 trace Ephraim's genealogy; in verse 28 the cities on the southern border of Ephraim are listed, while verse 29 gives the principal cities on the northern border of Manasseh. Instead of mentioning all the cities belonging to these two tribes, the writer describes their combined territories by naming those cities on the southern and northern boundaries. In his enumeration of the towns on the north, Dor is included (v. 29).

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[1] In the *Enc. Bib.*, Article "Dor," only four towns, viz., "Bethshean, Ibleam, Megiddo and Dor," are mentioned in Judg. 1:27. Evidently the omission of Taanach is an oversight.

(29) וְעַל־יְדֵי בְנֵי־מְנַשֶּׁה בֵּית־שְׁאָן וּבְנֹתֶיהָ תַּעֲנַךְ וּבְנֹתֶיהָ מְגִדּוֹ
וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ דוֹר וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ בְּאֵלֶּה יָשְׁבוּ בְּנֵי יוֹסֵף בֶּן־יִשְׂרָאֵל

The Greek reads:

(29) καὶ ἕως ὁρίων υἱῶν Μανασσή, Βαιθσαὰν καὶ αἱ κῶμαι αὐτῆς, Θαλμὴ καὶ
αἱ κῶμαι αὐτῆς · καὶ Βαλὰδ καὶ αἱ κῶμαι αὐτῆς, Μαγεδδεὶ καὶ αἱ κῶμαι αὐτῆς,
Δὼρ καὶ αἱ κῶμαι αὐτῆς · ἐν ταύτῃ κατῴκησαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰωσὴφ υἱοῦ Ἰσραήλ.

(29) "And upon the borders of the children of Manasseh,
Bethshean and its dependencies, Taanach and its dependencies,
Megiddo and its dependencies, Dor and its dependencies. In these
dwelt the children of Joseph the son of Israel."

Comments on the Greek: For Θαλμη, A reads Θααναχ. A has
Μαγεδδω. For υἱοῦ A* reads υἱοί. For Βαλαδ A reads Βαλααδ, which
evidently corresponds to Βαλααμ of Judg. 1:27 (A), and like it is a
corrupt rendering of יבלעם. The initial iota of Ἰεβλαάμ was per-
haps dropped through the influence of the final iota of καὶ preced-
ing the name. (But cp. בִלְעָם of 1 Chron. 6:55). The form
Βαλααδ (with δ) may be due to the common confusion in Greek
uncial writing of Δ and Μ. The fact that the name occurs in some
of the Greek texts[1], though lacking in the Hebrew, is probably to
be accounted for by the tendency of the Greek translators (or
editors) to use their own judgment in revising and interpreting the
text before them (Cp. Δωρ in the Greek of Judg. 1:31, and ἥ ἐστιν
Σκυθῶν πόλις of Judg. 1:27). Here Jibleam seems to have been
introduced from the parallel passages in Josh. 17:11 and Judg.
1:27, more probably the latter[2].

As has been suggested above[3], the peculiar phrase שְׁלֹשֶׁת הַנָּפֶת
in Josh. 17:11 was in all probability originally a marginal gloss,
שְׁלִשְׁתָּה נפת, that later found its way into the text, meant to
point out that *the third town in the list* (שְׁלִשְׁתָּה = "third of it")
was to be read with prefixed נָפֶת; i. e., נָפַת דֹאר. This was
evidently a variant reading, whether the original and correct one

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[1] Lagarde's Edition omits Βαλαδ but follows the order of B. Instead of
Μανασσή, it reads Μωυσῆς. Holmes-Parsons omits Βαλααδ in the text (based
on ΚΕΦ) but records it as appearing in several texts.

[2] The order of towns (except Dor) follows that of Judg. 1:27, and the form
Βαλααδ is, as explained above, equivalent to Βαλααμ of that verse.

[3] Pages 26 f.

or intended merely to distinguish this דֹאר from other Dor's, for example, from עֵין דֹר in the same verse. By a very natural mistake, the two words of the gloss were wrongly divided, the ה being taken for the article and therefore joined to the following. The gloss was then inserted at the end of the verse, no other place being obviously suitable for it. הַנֶפֶת could not of course be read as הַנָפַת, since נָפַת could only be *the construct state* of a noun נָפָה, from the root נוף. The word was therefore not unnaturally read as a segholate, הַנֶפֶת[1], as though from a root נפת. (To read הַנֹפֶת, as some modern commentators have suggested, is only to make a bad matter worse. The phrase would be grammatically objectionable, שְׁלִשֶׁת with a *feminine* noun, and the troublesome article; moreover, it has no possible meaning in the present context.) This explanation seems to be the only one that will in any satisfactory manner really explain the phrase that has proved such a stumbling block to all commentators[2].

In שְׁלִישָׁתָה of Ezekiel 21:19 (Heb.) we have a case almost exactly parallel to the one under discussion. The true significance of the form שְׁלִישָׁתָה has also in this instance escaped the commentators. The verse, now corrupt, reads as follows:

(19) וְאַתָּה בֶן־אָדָם הִנָּבֵא וְהַךְ כַּף אֶל־כָּף וְתִכָּפֵל חֶרֶב שְׁלִישָׁתָה
חֶרֶב חֲלָלִים הִיא חֶרֶב חָלָל הַגָּדוֹל הַחֹדֶרֶת לָהֶם

Apparently, a marginal note, שְׁלִישָׁתָה חֶרֶב חֲלָלִים, supplied a variant reading for חֶרֶב חָלָל (which is the *third* time the word חֶרֶב appears in the verse). That is, the form of the verse which the glossator wished to preserve was the following: ותכפל חרב חרב חללים היא חרב חללים הגדול וגו'. Observe that this reading (with חֲלָלִים instead of חָלָל) is supported by the Old Greek (τραυματιῶν) and by the Peshitto (ܩܛܝ̈ܠܐ), which accordingly corroborate our proposed explanation of the difficult שְׁלִישָׁתָה.—For the rest, the verse is obscure; in fact this very obscurity may have led to the writing of the marginal gloss that later, by its insertion into

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[1] The ֶ in נֶפֶת is lengthened in pause.

[2] The Greek, with its τὸ τρίτον τῆς Ναφεθά, has mistaken the phrase as a town name, and is of no assistance in determining the true meaning of the expression.

the text, greatly added to the difficulties. But whatever may be
the correct reading of the rest of the passage, the explanation given
for שְׁלִישָׁתָה is apparently the only one that will really account
for its presence in the verse.

That the above interpretation of the occurrence of שְׁלֶשֶׁת הַנָּפֶת
in Josh. 17:11 is correct is rendered still more sure by the study of
a similarly obscure phrase in Isaiah 65:7. Here at the end of the
verse we read: וּמַדֹּתִי פְעֻלָּתָם רִאשֹׁנָה עַל חֵיקָם. The conclud-
ing phrase of the preceding verse (65:6) reads: וְשִׁלַּמְתִּי עַל חֵיקָם.
In some manuscripts there must have been variation in, or doubt
about, the reading of the preposition. (The form עַל of our M.T.
is obviously a combination of the two readings אֶל and עַל). Con-
sequently, some scribe seems to have placed in the margin opposite
verse 7 a note calling attention to the fact that the undoubted read-
ing of verse 6, the "first" (רִאשֹׁנָה) occurrence of the phrase, was
עַל חֵיקָם. When this gloss, viz. רִאשֹׁנָה עַל, was transferred
from the margin into the text, the vowel of the אֶל which already
stood there was carefully preserved.

In each of the three cases discussed above (i. e., Josh. 17:11,
Ezek. 21:19 and Is. 65:7), the recognition of the gloss "first
time" or "third time" solves a riddle which has seemed insoluble.
Cases of the insertion of the similar gloss "second time" (שֵׁנִית)
are already well known; see for example the commentators on
Ezekiel 4:6.

A comparison of the Hebrew of Josh. 17:11 and Judg. 1:27
reveals the fact that the former has one name (viz. עֵין דֹּר) more
than the latter. Nor does Endor appear in 1 Chron. 7:29. In
the Peshitto of Josh. 17:11, Endor has actually displaced Dor.
Together with Jibleam it is omitted in the Greek (A) of the verse
in Joshua[1]. Inasmuch as Endor lies considerably north of the rest
of this line of border towns, and the textual evidence for it is so
poor, it probably has no place at all in this list. It would seem
that in some early manuscript Dor was written defectively. This
led to the conjecture that Endor was meant, which thus crept into
the text as an additional name. Some later reader decided, and

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[1] It is barely possible that 'Εδωρ of Bᵃ ᵇ ᵐᵍ may represent the name.—The
B-text also omits Taanach. These omissions in the Greek are probably
accidental.

rightly, that Naphath Dor was meant; his conjecture is preserved in שְׁלֹשֶׁת הַנָּפֶת at the close of the verse. In view of the probabilities, and of the evidence against its originality, we must reject עֵין דֹּר from Josh. 17:11.

Of the three passages cited (i.e. Josh. 17:11-13; Judg. 1:27, 28 and 1 Chron. 7:29) the one in Judges is in all probability the oldest and most historical. Apparently the notice in Joshua has been borrowed from that in Judges and has been modified to some extent. To fit the later theory of the tribal domains, the Joshua passage introduces the "correction:" בְּיִשָּׂשכָר וּבְאָשֵׁר. Just what this theory in regard to the settlements of the tribes was, it is impossible for us, in view of the confused and conflicting statements regarding it, to determine. That Judg. 1:27, 28 is the older and better account is further indicated by the fact that it bluntly states that Manasseh did not drive out the inhabitants of these cities (which, according to 2:1b-5a, they could have done had they obeyed Jahweh's commands), while Josh. 17:12 softens this down and lessens their guilt by declaring the children of Manasseh were *not able* to dispossess them. In the retention in Josh. 17:11 of the accusative וְאֶת־יֹשְׁבֵי and of וְיֹשְׁבֵי from Judg. 1:27 (where they fit into the construction as they do not at all in the Joshua passage) there is added evidence for the dependence of Josh. 17:11-13 on Judg. 1:27, 28.

The list of boundaries of Manasseh in 1 Chron. 7:29 agrees in content but not in form with Josh. 17:11[1]. It would appear that the Chronicler has rearranged the names he found in the other two passages, so that the order followed by him is the correct geographical one, with Dor last. To change (with Moore and Budde) the arrangement of the towns in Josh. 17:11, Judg. 1:27, so as to follow the geographical order is hardly justifiable. Both passages place Dor third in the list, and the gloss שְׁלֹשֶׁתָה נֶפֶת corroborates this order. The Taanach......Jibleam order of Judg. 1:27 may have been corrected by the one who borrowed the verse in Josh. 17:11. Dor's position in both passages may be due to a doubt as to which Dor was meant (cp. Endor in Josh. 17:11)[2]. It would

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[1] As explained above, Jibleam is not given by the Chronicler (Hebrew) though it is represented in the Greek by Βαλα(α)δ.

[2] Ancient lists of towns are often in very irregular order. See on Judith 2:28 below, p. 55.

appear that the account in Judges belongs to the J. strand of narrative, and that Josh. 17:11 is borrowed from this account.

The cities mentioned in these passages form a line stretching from Bethshean on the east to Dor on the west. Bethshean (mod. Beisān) is situated at the eastern end of the Great Plain. Jibleam has been identified with the modern Belʻameh, south of Genīn[1], others place it northwest of Bethshean, the modern Yebla[2]. Taanach (mod. Taʻannuk) lies west of Bethshean and northwest of Belʻameh. Megiddo is northwest of Taanach, at the modern Leġġūn. This chain of fortified cities separated the tribes of Joseph from their brethren struggling for a foothold in Galilee to the north.

וַיּוֹאֶל in Josh. 17:12, Judg. 1:27 contains the idea of determination, and the clause may be translated " persisted in dwelling (or remaining)"[3]. The Hebrew text of Judg. 1:27 is quite irregular in its use or omission of יֹשֵׁב and בְּנוֹתֶיהָ. The reference in Josh. 17:13; Judg. 1:28, to the time when Israel become strong (חָזַק[וּ]) is probably to the times of David. We have no satisfactory proof that the city of Dor ever came into his power, although in 1 Kings 4:11 the whole region of Naphath Dor is assigned to Ben-Abinadab, Solomon's son-in-law[4]. מַס refers to the working gangs.

Thus, according to the accounts of Josh. 17:11-13; Judg. 1:27, 28 and 1 Chron. 7:29, Dor is one of the border cities of Manasseh, whose Canaanite inhabitants maintained possession of their cities at the time of the Hebrew invasion. Later, it is claimed, these inhabitants were put to task-work by their Hebrew conquerors. It may be doubted whether the Hebrews ever secured more than a brief suzerainty (if even that) over the people of remote Dor. The frank statement that " they by no means expelled them" indicates that the town remained Canaanite. As for Dor, it was far away in Philistine or Phoenician rather than in Hebrew territory, and therefore in a position to maintain its freedom.

JUDGES 1:31.

The Greek of Judges 1:31 includes Dor among the cities assigned to Asher which remained unconquered. The verse reads (A-text):

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[1] Moore, Budde.

[2] G.A.S., *Hist. Geog.*, Maps I, VI.

[3] B.D.B. s.v. יָאַל ; Moore on the passage.

[4] See below.

(13) καὶ Ἀσὴρ οὐκ ἐξῆρεν τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Ἀκχώ, καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ εἰς φόρον, καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Δὼρ καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Σιδῶνα καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Δαλὰφ καὶ τὸν Ἀσχενδεὶ καὶ τὴν Σχεδιὰν καὶ τὴν Ἀφὲκ καὶ τὴν Ῥοώβ.

In the Massoretic text Dor does not appear. None of the versions except the Greek seem to have it[1]. The textual evidence for the genuineness of the citation of Dor in this place is, therefore, very poor. In all probability the name is an insertion into the Greek based on the passage in Josh. 17:11, where Dor is mentioned among the enclaves of Manasseh in Issachar and Asher[2]. Both Moore and Budde comment on the absence in the Hebrew of Tyre, which lies between Accho and Sidon; this is the very position occupied by Dor in the passage. It is, of course, barely possible that there was present in the original Hebrew the name צוֹר; but of this we have no proof. In view of the faulty character of the Greek text of Judges and of the evidence of free redaction in it, we must consider it probable that the inclusion of Dor in the Greek of 1:31 is the word of an editor's hand. In any case it adds nothing to the information contained in the passages already discussed.

1 KINGS 4:11.

1 Kings 4:7-19 contains a list of twelve victualling officers of Solomon, placed over "all Israel." Fourth in this list appears (verse 11) the name of Ben-Abinadab, in charge of "all Naphath Dor:"

(11) בֶּן־אֲבִינָדָב כָּל־נָפַת דֹּאר טָפַת בַּת־שְׁלֹמֹה הָיְתָה לּוֹ לְאִשָּׁה

Translation: "Ben-Abinadab, all the Height of Dor; (Taphath, the daughter of Solomon, was his wife.)"

The Greek reads (A)[3]:

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[1] Walton's *Polyglot.*

[2] The verse Josh. 17:11 is based, as indicated above, on Judg. 1:27, which also names Dor and precedes the passage now under discussion by only three verses. Probably these verses are all connected with one another, at least in the mind of the Greek translator.

[3] The text of B in this verse is hopelessly confused and corrupt; it is another illustration to prove how poor is the document Swete chose as his basic text.

(11) υἱοῦ Ἀβιναδὰβ πᾶσα Νεφαδδώρ, Ταφατὰ θυγάτηρ Σαλωμὼν ἦν αὐτῷ εἰς γυναῖκα (ΒΚΕΦ add εἰς).

Whether בֶּן־אֲבִינָדָב and the other names in this list compounded with Ben are surnames like Ben-Hadad[1] in 1 Kings 20, or whether the proper names originally preceded Ben and were later accidentally dropped, is uncertain. In the Greek, υἱοῦ should become υἱός. The εἰς which appears at the end in many good manuscripts may point to an original אַחַד as in Josh. 12:9 ff.

The mention of sons-in-law of Solomon in this section points to a period somewhat advanced in his reign. However, considering the evident fact that the whole tendency of 1 Kings 3–11 is to magnify Solomon and his reign, we may well doubt the historicity of these reputed divisions of his kingdom. Again, as has already been said, it can hardly be put down as certain that Solomon's realm really included the remote district of Dor, located as it is in debatable territory lying between Philistia and Phoenicia. It is, however, true that Biblical tradition is consistent in ascribing to Solomon a greater extent of territory than was held by any other Hebrew ruler. If ever the "height of Dor" belonged to Israel, it was at that time. The passage does not seem to be from the oldest strand of the narrative of the Books of Kings; very likely it was from some other historical work editorially included in the book[2].

JUDITH 2:28.

In the book of Judith, following the account of Holofernes' punitive ravages in the plain of Damascus, the terror inspired by him in the coast cities is described as follows (Judith 2:28 (18), A Text):

καὶ ἔπεσεν ὁ φόβος καὶ ὁ τρόμος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν παραλίαν, τοὺς ὄντας ἐν Σιδῶνι καὶ ἐν Τύρῳ, καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Σοὺρ καὶ Ὀκεινά, καὶ πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Ἰεμνάαν, καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἀζώτῳ καὶ Ἀσκάλωνι ἐφοβήθησαν αὐτὸν σφόδρα.

(28) "And the fear and dread of him fell upon them that dwelt on the sea coast, upon them that were in Sidon and in Tyre, and

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[1] Gray (*Prop. Names*, pp. 73 f.) explains the form of these names on the theory that, like Ben-Hadad, some or all of these officers were foreigners.

[2] So Stade in *S.B.O.T.*

upon them that dwelt in Dor and Accho, and upon all that dwelt in
Jamnia; and they that dwelt in Azotus and Ascalon feared him
exceedingly."

After Ἀσκάλωνι, ℵ. H.-P. X, 58. Syr. Old Lat., read καὶ Γάζῃ.
It is quite possible that Gaza stood in the original text. For
Ὀκεινά, ℵ^ca and H.-P. 19, 108 read Κινναιους. But the town-name
better fits the context. Ὀκεινά is, as most commentators agree,
Accho (= Ptolemais), a haven north of Carmel.

For the third town in the list, the B-text reads Ἀσσούρ, of which
Ἀσ is merely the repetition of the final letters of the preceding κατ-
οικοῦντας. The reading of ℵ*, Τουρ, is perhaps influenced by the pre-
ceding Τύρῳ. The Syriac with ܣܘܪ evidently renders a Greek name
written with σ. Löhr (in Kautzsch's *Apokryphen*), following Ball
(in *Wace's Apocrypha*) and Ewald[1], interprets the form as an acci-
dental repetition of the foregoing Τυρῳ, (= Çor.). Fritzsche rightly
rejects Ewald's suggestion as being quite improbable, and fixes
instead upon דוֹר as the city here referred to. He argues that the
locality speaks strongly for his interpretation; and that Dor and
Accho are so close to one another that the fact that the names have
exchanged places in the list is quite without significance. It should
be remarked in this connection that ancient writers, even in strictly
geographical treatises, are by no means careful to preserve the cor-
rect geographical order in their lists of cities[2]. It is, besides, open
to question whether the writer of the book knew much about
the relative positions of the northern coast cities; he might easily
have made the mistake through ignorance. Even if the original
order of towns in this verse was the correct one, the later faulty
writing of the name of Dor as Σουρ and of Ἀκκο as Ὀκεινα would
have caused confusion; perhaps this led to the transposition of Dor
to its present position after Tyre[3]. As far as the form Σουρ is con-
cerned, it would appear that in some cursive manuscript δ was
written so much like σ that δωρ was read as σωρ. Inasmuch as the

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[1] *Gesch. des V. Israels*, III, 2, p. 544.

[2] Cp. the varying order of cities in Josh. 17:11 and Judg. 1:27 above; see
also *Bibl. Geog. Arab.* VII, p. 327, line 7 (Jubail, Ṣaidā, Beirūt); p. 329, 2 ff.
(Caesarea, Jamnia, Jaffa): 2R53, No. 4, lines 55–58 (discussed below), gives
the order: Samaria, Damascus, Dor, Megiddo.

[3] It is not at all impossible that the transposition took place under the
impression that Σουρ was actually a doublet to Τυρῳ.

confusion of ω and ου is a very common phenomenon, the variation between Σουρ and Δωρ is easily explained.

The date of the composition of Judith is generally placed in the second century B. C. It is a romance with its setting in the times of Nebuchadrezzar. As such it has little or no historical value. The principal value of this notice consists, therefore, in its indication that in the second century B. C. the writer recognized in Dor one of the coast towns important enough to merit enumeration in a list of the larger cities of the region.

THE ESHMUNAZAR INSCRIPTION AND DOR.

The Eshmunazar inscription (Lines 18-20) states that the "Lord of Kings", in return for assistance rendered, presented Dor and Joppa to King Eshmunazar II of Sidon as a perpetual possession. The text of the inscription reads:[1]

18. ‏ועד · יתן · לן · ארן · מלכם ·‏

19. ‏את · דאר · ויפי · ארצת · דגן · האדרת · אש · בשד · שרן ·‏
‏למדת · עצמת · אש · פעלת · ויספננם‏

20. ‏עלת · גבל · ארץ · לכננם · לצדנם · לעלם ·‏

18. "Furthermore, the Lord of Kings gave to us Dor and Joppa[2], the glorious lands of Dagon which are in the field of Sharon, in recognition of the assistance which I rendered; and we joined them to the territory of the land, to belong to the Sidonians forever."

The date of this inscription is variously stated as the fourth or the third century B.C., i.e., either in the Persian or in the early Greek period. The argument for the date has usually depended on the interpretation of the expression "Lord of Kings" (‏ארן מלכם‏). It is urged[3] that this is a Ptolemaic title and that the inscription must therefore be dated about the middle of the third century B.C. Schlottman[4] on the other hand refers to the Persian custom of rewarding with gifts of cities those rulers who had served Persian interests in some special manner. He therefore dates the inscription in the period of Persian prosperity, perhaps during the time of the wars with Greece. Schürer[5], on the basis of Scylax' Δῶρος πόλις Σιδονίων[6], decides that the inscription must certainly be placed in the Persian period. His contention is that the transfer of Dor to

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[1] *C.I.S.* I, 3 ; Lidzbarski, Taf. IV:2.

[2] Hilprecht (*Explorations in Bible Lands*, pp. 615 ff.) makes the incorrect statement that "Eshmunazar extended the boundaries of Sidon by the conquest (sic !) of Dor and Joppa."

[3] E. Meyer in *Enc. Bib.*, 3762 f., s.v. Phoenicia; Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 40.

[4] *Die Inschrift Eschmunazars*, pp. 48 ff.

[5] *G.J.V.* II, 129.

[6] *Geographi graeci minores*, ed. Müller, I, 79.

Sidon which Scylax' statement presupposes is the one referred to here by Eshmunazar. Inasmuch as Scylax lived about 350 B.C.[1], Eshmunazar must be dated in the period of Persia's supremacy. This argument of Schürer seems to have considerable weight. The counter-argument based on the usage of " King of Kings " by the Persians instead of " Lord of Kings " is not decisive. The latter title was used of Alexander[2] and others, and may well have been applied to the Persian overlord.

The excavation of the temple of Eshmūn at Sidon possibly throws some light on the question of the date of Eshmunazar II. According to the report of Macridy-Bey[3], a first temple was destroyed and another built in its place. This second temple was in its turn demolished, not later than the latter half of the third century B.C. The date of the building of the second temple Macridy-Bey, on the basis of fragments of architecture found there, places in the latter half of the fourth century B.C. The destruction of the *first* temple he therefore dates about the middle of the same (i.e., the fourth) century. It must therefore have been built at least as early as the first half of the fourth century B.C. More convincing still is the discovery, amongst the debris from the first temple found under the pavement of the reconstructed temple, of a votive inscription in basalt upon which were engraved several lines in hieroglyphic script giving the name of Ak'horis, an Egyptian King of the 29th dynasty (393-381 B.C.) This would bring the probable date of the first temple back to the 5th century. Now the inscriptions of King Bod-ashtart were found imbedded in the core of the north wall of the reconstructed temple[4]. They were so placed in the inside of the wall that they could neither be seen nor read, and evidently consisted of stones from the old temple used in rebuilding the later one. These inscriptions, therefore, probably belonged to the first temple and are to be dated not later than the early fourth century B.C. Inasmuch as Bod-ashtart belongs to the same generation as Eshmunazar II (both being grandsons of Eshmunazar I), Eshmunazar II

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[1] Schürer, *l.c.*; Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften*, II, 77.

[2] E.g., in the Umm-el-'Awamid inscription (*C.I.S.* I, 7; Cooke, p. 44).

[3] *Le Temple d'Echmoun à Sidon* (Fouilles du Musée Impérial Ottoman), pp. 13 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 32-34.

should probably likewise be connected with the first temple, and his inscription dated in the early fourth century. When this evidence is taken in connection with the testimony of Scylax (discussed above) we have fairly strong presumptive evidence that Eshmunazar (and the inscription) antedates the Greek period and should be dated during the period of Persian domination. This tentative conclusion does not, of course, exclude the possibility that further discoveries in Syria may cause us to decide in favor of another date for this inscription.

דגן in line 19 has been variously translated as " corn " and as the god " Dagon." We know that Dagon was worshipped among the Philistines[1]. Joppa lies well toward Philistia, and Dor, as indicated above, was settled by the Takkara related to the Philistines. There is, therefore, every possibility that at this time Dagon[2] was also the god of Joppa and Dor, and that the inscription means to indicate that these regions were within the realms of that god.

The use of the adjective אדרת may give some slight indication that דגן is to be interpreted as the name of the god. In both Hebrew and Phoenician, אדיר has the meaning "majestic", "glorious"[3], and is very frequently used as an epithet of divine beings (e. g. in *C.I.S.* 118, and in the cry of the Philistines in 1 Sam. 4 : 8). Compare also such common Phoenician names as אדרבעל. In line 16 of this same (i. e. Eshmunazar) inscription the word is used in the phrase שמם אדרם (" Glorious Heavens "), which apparently designated the hilly district where the temples of the gods were built[4]. Cooke (*North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 38) says of the adjective here: " The idea of expanse is contained in the

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[1] Moore in *Enc. Bib.*, p. 983: Paton in Hast. *Enc. of Rel. and Ethics*, s.v.; Schrader in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch*.

[2] It seems most probable that Dagon is related to the Babylonian god Dagān (so Moore, Paton, Schrader, E. Meyer in *Enc. Bib.*, s.v. Phoenicia). It would appear that this god was found in the land by its Philistine, etc. conquerors and adopted by them. The name Dagon is probably connected with דגן (=corn), for he seems to have been both in Babylonia and Canaan a god of agriculture. On a seal he has the emblem of an ear of corn (Paton, *l.c.*). On the other hand it is still possible that the name comes from דג, "fish" (so Schrader, *l. c.*; Meyer, *Gaza*, pp. 115 ff.).

[3] B.D.B., s.v.; Siegfried und Stade, s.v.; so also in New Hebrew, cp. Jastrow, *Dict. of Targ.*, s.v.

[4] Torrey in *J.A.O.S.*, vol. 23 (1902), p. 163 ; vol. 24 (1903), pp. 214 ff.

root; so אדר is suitably applied to the wide corn-lands of ישרן ".
It seems much more probable that the choice of the adjective is due
to the presence of the divine name, Dagon. This agrees with the
usual connotation of אדיר. The use of this particular adjective
here is, of course, very precarious evidence for the worship of
Dagon in Dor at the time of the Eshmunazar dynasty; and yet its
possible value must be admitted[1].

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[1] Neubauer (*Géog. Talm.*, p. 13) translates : "pays du Dagon *adoré*" with
the note : "La racine אדר se trouve plusieurs fois dans cette même inscrip-
tion avec le sens 'adorer'." While he has correctly perceived that the
adjective has probably been chosen with reference to the mention of the
god, he has no sufficient warrant, either in this inscription or elsewhere, for
translating it "adoré." The grammatical form forbids this and requires
that האדרת be read with ארצת.

EARLY GREEK WRITERS.

HECATAEUS.

That Dor was not unknown to the Greeks in early times is evidenced by the citation from Hecataeus of Miletus in Stephan of Byzantium[1]. Hecataeus, who lived c. 500 B. C., is quoted as follows (from his περιήγησις): Ἑκαταῖος Ἀσία· " μετὰ δὲ ἡ πάλαι Δῶρος, νῦν δὲ Δῶρα καλεῖται."

"Hecataeus in (section on) Asia: 'And next comes ancient Doros, now, however, called Dora'."

But the change from Doros to Dora occurred long after the time of Hecataeus[2]. It seems, therefore, that the version of Hecataeus used by Stephan of Byzantium had been added to by interpolation. We have no reason to doubt, however, that Hecataeus knew and mentioned Dor.

CRATERUS.

It has been argued by some[3] that Dor was for a time tributary to the Athenians during the period of Athen's hegemony in the Mediterranean (fifth century B. C.). This claim is based on the assumption that Dor in Caria mentioned by Stephan of Byzantium[4] is really the Phoenician Dor. The passage from Stephan reads as follows:

ἔστι καὶ Καρίας Δῶρος πόλις, ἣν συγκαταλέγει ταῖς πόλεσιν ταῖς Καρικαῖς Κρατερὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ ψηφισμάτων τρίτῳ " Καρικὸς φόρος Δῶρος, Φασηλῖται."

"There is also a city of Caria named Dōros, which Craterus[5] in the third book of his treatise 'Concerning Decrees' records among the Carian cities (as follows): 'Carian tribute: Doros, the Phaselians'."

Phaselis, the city named with Dor as on the Carian tribute-list, was situated on the Lycian-Pamphylian border. These provinces

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[1] *Steph. Byz.* s.v. Δῶρος ; Müller, *Fragm. hist. graec.*, I, 17, n. 260.

[2] See chapter on the name Dor ; Schür., *G.J.V.*, II, pp. 138 f.

[3] See Cooke, *Enc. Bib.*, s.v. Dor ; Schür., *G.J.V.*, II, pp. 138 ff.

[4] S.v. Δῶρος.

[5] Greek historian of the third cent. B. C. (Smith, *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biog.*, s.v.)

are far from our Dor, and it would require much more conclusive
evidence than has yet been brought forward to establish a probabil-
ity that we are to look south of Mt. Carmel for the city named by
Craterus[1]. It may be that settlements of Greek Dorians in Caria
led Craterus to speak of a city Doros that had no real existence.
It is far more probable, however, that the Dorians actually had in
Caria a city Doros, since the name is not uncommon. It seems
best, therefore, to reject the assumption that Phoenician Dor is
intended in the passage under discussion.

APOLLODORUS.

Apollodorus, an Athenian grammarian who lived c. 140 B.C.[2], is
quoted by Stephanus Byzantinus[3] as follows:

Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ Δῶρον καλεῖ ἐν Χρονικῶν δ΄ " εἰς Δῶρον οὖσαν ἐπιθαλάτ-
τιον πόλιν."

"And Apollodorus mentions Dor in the fourth (book of his)
Chronica: 'To Dor which is a maritime city.'"

ARTEMIDORUS OF EPHESUS.

From Artemidorus of Ephesus, a geographer who wrote c.103
B.C., we have a fragment in which Dor is mentioned in connection
with Strato's Tower (later Caesarea) and Mt. Carmel. The pas-
sage reads[4]:

καὶ Ἀρτεμίδωρος Δῶρα τὴν πόλιν οἶδεν ἐν Ἐπιτομῇ τῶν ιά " Συνεχῶς δ΄ ἐστὶ
Στράτωνος πύργος, εἶτα ἔνι Δῶρα ἐπὶ χερσονησοειδοῦς τόπον κείμενον πολισ-
μάτιον, ἀρχομένου τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Καρμήλου." καὶ ἐν θ΄ γεωγραφουμένων τὸ
αὐτό.

"And Artemidorus is acquainted with the city Dor in his
Epitome book 11: 'And adjacent is Strato's Tower, then comes

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[1] Köhler, *Urkunden u. Untersuch. zur Gesch. des delischattischen Bundes*
(Abhandlungen der Berliner Akad., 1869), p. 207, cites from another Athen-
ian tribute-list Κελένδερις (on the Cilician coast opposite Cyprus) to prove
that Athenian influence reached far towards Syria. But this city is too
remote from the Phoenician Dor to establish his contention.

[2] *Enc. Brit.* s.v. Apollodorus.

[3] Ed. Meineke, s.v. Δῶρος.

[4] *Steph. Byz.*, l.c.; C. Müller, *Geog. Graec. min.*, I, 576, Fragm. 18 (from
Marcian of Heraclea).

Dora, a small town situated upon a peninsula, near the beginning
of Mt. Carmel.' And in the ninth book of the Geography the
same."

<div align="center">ALEXANDER EPHESIUS.</div>

In his geographical poem, Alexander Ephesius[1], a contemporary
of Cicero (106-43 B.C.), joins Joppa and Dor in one of his lines.
Stephanus Byzantinus[2] cites as follows:

καὶ ᾿Αλέξανδρος ἐν ᾿Ασίᾳ "Δῶρος τ᾿ἀγχίαλός τ᾿᾿Ιόπη προύχουσα θαλάσσης."

"And Alexander in the section, 'Asia'[3]: 'Both Dor bordering
on the water and Joppa jutting forth into the sea.'"

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[1] Called Λύχνος; Knaack in Pauly-Wissowas *Enc.* s.v. Alexander Ephesius,
n. 86.

[2] Quoted in Meineke, *Analecta Alexandrina*, p. 374.

[3] The geographical poem was divided into three parts, ᾿Ευρώπη, ᾿Ασία and
Λιβύη.

HISTORY OF DOR DURING THE GREEK, MACCABEAN AND ROMAN PERIODS.

POLYBIUS, HISTORIAE 5 : 66.

In the course of his early campaigns against Ptolemy Philopator of Egypt, Antiochus III ("the Great") besieged Dor without result. The strength of the place and the reënforcements sent by Nicolaus, together with the approach of winter, made him abandon his attempt. This was in the year 219 B.C. Polybius thus records the incident[1]:

Ἀντίοχος δὲ συνεσταμένος πολιορκίαν περὶ τὴν καλουμένην πόλιν Δοῦρα[2], καὶ περαίνειν οὐδὲν δυνάμενος διά τε τὴν ὀχυρότητα τοῦ τόπου καὶ τὰς τῶν περὶ τὸν Νικόλαον παραβοηθείας, συνάπτοντος ἤδη τοῦ χειμῶνος, συνεχώρησε ταῖς παρὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου πρεσβείαις ἀνοχάς τε ποιήσασθαι τετραμήνους καὶ τῶν ὅλων εἰς πάντα συγκαταβήσεσθαι τὰ φιλάνθρωπα. . . . . ταῦτα δ' ἔπραττε, πλεῖστον μὲν ἀπέχων τῆς ἀληθείας · σπεύδων δὲ μὴ πολὺν χρόνον ἀποσπᾶσθαι τῶν οἰκείων τόπων, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ Σελευκείᾳ ποιήσασθαι τὴν τῶν δυνάμεων παραχειμασίαν.

"But Antiochus had begun a siege against the city named Dor, and could accomplish nothing because of the strength of the place and because of the reënforcements they received from Nicolaus[3]. Since winter was already drawing near he agreed with the ambassadors of Ptolemy (Philopator) to observe an armistice of four months duration and to enter into friendly relations in everything that concerned the war. And this he did although he was far from sincerity in the matter. He was eager, rather, not to be long separated from his own lands, but instead to pass the winter with his troops in Seleucia."

Whether Dor fell into Antiochus' hands the following year (218 B.C.) on his way to the defeat at Raphia is not recorded.

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[1] *Historiae*, 5:66, ed. Büttner-Wobst II, p. 185 f.; Reland, *Palaestina*, p. 744; cp. Noris, *Annus et Epochae Syromacedonum*, on Polyb., V:66; Schürer, II, 139.

[2] In Δοῦρα, οῦ is, as remarked above, simply the confusion of ου with ω, a common phenomenon.

[3] An Aetolian, one of Ptolemy's generals (*Polyb.* 5:61, 68, 70). Later he fights with Antiochus the Great against Arsaces (*Polyb.* 10:29).

Probably it became subject to him for a time after his victory at Paneas in the year 198 B.C.[1].

1 MACCABEES 15; ANTIQUITIES XIII, 7:2.

Dor was again besieged in 139-8 B.C., by Antiochus VII (Sidetes). Trypho, who had ruled since his assassination of Antiochus VI (Dionysus) in 142 B.C., and had by his excessive luxury and caprices alienated even his troops, had been obliged to flee before Antiochus Sidetes to Dor for refuge. The siege was raised, however, when Trypho in some way managed to escape from the city. First Maccabees 15:10-14; 25-27; 37; 39c reads[2]:

10. ἔτους τετάρτου καὶ ἑβδομηκοστοῦ καὶ ἑκατοστοῦ ἐξῆλθεν Ἀντίοχος εἰς τὴν γῆν τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ, καὶ συῆλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις, ὥστε ὀλίγους εἶναι σὺν Τρύφωνι. 11. καὶ ἐδίωξεν αὐτὸν Ἀντίοχος ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Δωρὰ φεύγων τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. 12. ἤδει γὰρ ὅτι ἐπισυνῆκται ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν κακά, καὶ ἀφῆκαν αὐτὸν αἱ δυνάμεις. 13. καὶ παρενέβαλεν Ἀντίοχος ἐπὶ Δωρά, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ δώδεκα μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν πολεμιστῶν καὶ ὀκτακισχιλία ἵππος. 14. καὶ ἐκύκλωσεν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ἀπὸ θαλάσσης συνῆψαν· καὶ συνέθλιβεν τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ οὐκ εἴασεν οὐδένα ἐκπορεύεσθαι καὶ εἰσπορεύεσθαι. 25. Ἀντίοχος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς παρενέβαλεν ἐπὶ Δωρὰ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ, προσάγων διὰ παντὸς αὐτῇ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ μηχανὰς ποιούμενος, καὶ συνέκλεισεν τὸν Τρύφωνα τοῦ εἰσπορεύεσθαι καὶ ἐκπορεύεσθαι. 26. καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ Σίμων δισχιλίους ἄνδρας ἐκλεκτοὺς συμμαχῆσαι αὐτῷ καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον καὶ σκεύη ἱκανά. 27. καὶ οὐκ ἠβούλετο αὐτὰ δέξασθαι, ἀλλὰ ἠθέτησεν πάντα ὅσα ἐσυνέθετο αὐτῷ τὸ πρότερον, καὶ ἠλλοτριοῦτο αὐτῷ. 37. Τρύφων δὲ ἐμβὰς εἰς πλοῖον ἔφυγεν εἰς Ὀρθωσίαν. 39c. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐδίωκε τὸν Τρύφωνα.

10. "In the one hundred and seventy fourth year (i.e. of the Seleucid era = Oct. 139 B.C.–Oct. 138 B.C.) Antiochus (Sidetes) went forth into the land of his fathers: and all the forces came together to him, so that there were (but) few men with Trypho. 11. And Antiochus the king pursued him, and he came in his flight to Dor which is by the sea. 12. For he knew that evils were gathered together against him, and that his forces had forsaken

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[1] Moss in Hast., *D.B.* I, p. 105, s.v. Antiochus III.

[2] Swete III, pp. 657-9 (A-text)......The genuineness of the closing chapters of 1 Maccabees has been questioned by Destinon, Wellhausen, and others. For convincing arguments on the other side see Torrey in *Enc. Bib.*, III, 2863-5; *Ezra Studies,* pp. 148 ff.

him. 13. And Antiochus encamped against Dor and with him
were 120,000 warriors and 8000 horse[1]. 14. And he surrounded
the city, and the ships joined in the attack from the sea; and he
worried the city by land and sea, and allowed no one to go out
or in."

(Vv. 15-24 record the return of Numenius and the embassy which
Simon had sent to Rome.)

25. "But Antiochus the King encamped against Dor on the
second (day)[2], continually bringing his forces up to it, and making
engines of war, and he shut up Trypho so that he could neither go
in nor go out. 26. And Simon sent him 2000 picked men to fight
with him; and silver and gold and many implements.

27. And he would not receive them, but set at naught all the
covenants he had made with him before, and was estranged from
him."

(The king sends to Simon to demand a tribute of 500 silver
talents, and is enraged when this is refused: vv. 28-36.)

37. "But Trypho embarked on a ship and fled to Orthosia."

(Vv. 38, 39 a b: The king commands Cendebaeus to attack the
Jews.)

39c. "But the king pursued Trypho."

Josephus' account (*Ant.* XIII, 7: 2) differs in several particulars
from that contained in 1 Maccabees[3].

γενόμενος δ'ἐν τῇ Σελευκείᾳ ὁ Ἀντίοχος, καὶ τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτῷ κατὰ πᾶσαν
ἡμέραν αὐξανομένης ὥρμησε πολεμήσων τὸν Τρύφωνα, καὶ κρατήσας αὐτοῦ τῇ
μάχῃ τῆς ἄνω Συρίας ἐξέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Φοινίκην, διώξας ἄχρι ταύτης, εἴς τε
Δώραν φρούριόν τι δυσάλωτον ἐπολιόρκει συμφυγόντα. πέμπει δὲ καὶ πρὸς
Σίμωνα τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέα περὶ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας πρέσβεις. ὁ δὲ
προσδέχεται προθύμως αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀξίωσιν, καὶ χρήματά τε πολλὰ καὶ τροφὴν
τοῖς τὴν Δώραν πολιορκοῦσι στρατιώταις, πέμψας πρὸς Ἀντίοχον, ἀφθόνως

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[1] The numbers are doubtless exaggerated.

[2] Fritzsche, I, p. 227; Kautzsch, I, p. 78; Fairweather, p. 252; Wace supplies
πολιορκίᾳ, and translates "for the second time," or "in the second siege."
It is better to consider this a redactional resumption of the narrative of the
siege described in vv. 13, 14, which had been interrupted by the account of
the return of the embassy in vv. 15-24.

[3] Text from ed. Naber. . . . The parallel passage in *B.J.*, I, 2:2 is much
briefer, mentioning simply Simon's assistance during Antiochus' siege of
Dor, and Antiochus' ingratitude afterward. Its source is the same as that
of the passage in *Ant.*

ἐχορήγησεν, ὡς τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων αὐτὸν πρὸς ὀλίγον καιρὸν κριθῆναι φίλων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Τρύφων ἐκ τῆς Δώρας φυγὼν εἰς Ἀπάμειαν καὶ ληφθεὶς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ διεφθάρη, βασιλεύσας ἔτη τρία.

"As Antiochus was now come to Seleucia, and his forces increased every day, he marched to fight Trypho; and having beaten him in the battle, he ejected him out of Upper Syria into Phenicia, and pursued him thither, and besieged him in Dora, which was a fortress hard to be taken, whither he had fled. He also sent ambassadors to Simon the Jewish high priest, about a league of friendship and mutual assistance: who readily accepted the invitation, and sent to Antiochus great sums of money and provisions, for those that besieged Dora, and thereby supplied them very plentifully, so that for a little while he was looked upon as one of his most intimate friends: but Trypho fled from Dora to Apamea, where he was taken during the siege, and put to death, when he had reigned three years[1]."

(In the following section Josephus relates that afterward Antiochus forgot the assistance Simon had rendered, and sent Cendebeus to ravage Judea and seize Simon. Simon was able, however, to defeat the forces sent against him.)

According to Josephus, then, the armies of Trypho and Antiochus Sidetes first fought a pitched battle in Upper Syria in which Antiochus was victorious. Trypho then fled to Dor and was besieged there. Contrary to the representation in 1 Maccabees (where Sidetes refuses to accept Simon's voluntarily proffered gifts and assistance), Josephus relates that the Syrian king requested and gladly received from Simon both money and provisions. Instead of following 1 Maccabees in making Orthosia Trypho's destination, Josephus names Apamea. He also adds the statement that at Apamea Trypho was taken in a siege and put to death. Still another statement of Trypho's destination is given by Charax[2], who says he fled to "Ptolemais, called Ake;" as follows:

καὶ Χάραξ ιά "Τρύφων ἐν Δώρῳ τῆς κοίλης Συρίας πόλει πολιορκούμενος ὑπ' Ἀντιόχου ἔφυγεν εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα τὴν Ἄκην λεγομένην."

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[1] Following in general Margoliouth's revision of Whiston's translation.

[2] *Steph. Byz.* (ed. Meineke, p. 254), s.v. Δῶρος; also in Müller, *Frag. hist. graec.* III, 644 n. 40. Cp. Fritzsche, I, 229. Charax probably lived during the reign of Hadrian and the Antonines.

"And Charax (in book) 11, ' Trypho, being besieged in Dor, a city of Coele-Syria by Antiochus, fled to Ptolemais, called Ake.'"

The attempt to harmonize these variant accounts by making Trypho go first to Ptolemais, then to Orthosia and finally to Apamea[1], is neither reasonable nor convincing. Evidently there were in existence several differing and conflicting accounts of what became of Trypho. Schürer[2] holds that Josephus used 1 Maccabees as his main source here, but that he freely changed some of the details from some Greek writer, probably Polybius. Hölscher[3] classes this passage with the other "Syriaca" and assigns them all to Strabo, who, he alleges, in turn found his material in Polybius and Posidonius. Destinon[4] believes that Josephus' source for this passage was a writer who had already composed a narrative out of 1 Maccabees and some Greek writer. Inasmuch as the closing chapters of 1 Maccabees as they now stand seem to be original[5], it is probable that Josephus worked over the material contained in them with the aid of material from some Greek historian. In any case, whatever the process of fusion and relation of documents in these passages may have been, it is the clear testimony of our sources that Trypho was actually besieged in Dor by Antiochus Sidetes and that he somehow escaped from that city.

ANTIQUITIES XIII, 12:2, 4.

Soon after the beginning of the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (104-78 B.C.), Dor is mentioned by Josephus in connection with Alexander's plan of bringing the coast cities under his sway. Dor and Strato's Tower (Caesarea) were held at this time by a tyrant named Zoilus[6]. When Alexander started his campaign by besieg-

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[1] Fritzsche, I, 229: Wace, II, 527; Schürer, *G.J.V.* I, 253.

[2] Hauck-Herzog, *Enzyk.*, s.v. Josephus.

[3] *Die Quellen des Josephus.*

[4] Margoliouth (*Revision of Whiston's Josephus*), Introd., p. XVII.

[5] See note above, p. 66.

[6] Clermont-Ganneau (*Recueil d'Archéologie orientale*, V, 1903, pp. 285-8) gives an epitaph from a stone found at Dor dating from the year 169-170 A. D., which gives a feminine form, Zoila. The inscription reads: Ζωιλα ἐνθαδε κειται ἐτων τριακοντα φιλανδρος. Γλσ΄ ᾿Απελλαιου κς. θαρσει. "Here lies Zoila (aged) thirty years, loving her husband. Year 233, the 26th (of the month) Apellaeos. Courage!" It is interesting to note that this name persisted in Dor into the second century A.D. Cler-Gan. suggests that the tyrant Zoilus may have introduced the name into the Onomasticon of the place.

ing Ptolemais, Zoilus assisted that city. Forced by the weakness of the rival Syrian kings (Antiochus VIII [Philometer][1], and Antiochus Cyzicenus) to look abroad for further assistance, the inhabitants of Ptolemais sent to Ptolemy Lathyrus, who had shortly before fled from Cleopatra, his mother, from Egypt to Cyprus. The ambassadors from Ptolemais promised the Egyptian that Zoilus would unite with them in loyalty to him (Jos., *Ant.* XIII, 12:2).

The fickle inhabitants of Ptolemais, however, refused to receive Ptolemy when he arrived. But Zoilus and the people of Gaza came instead asking help against the Jews, who were ravaging their country. In fear of Ptolemy, Alexander thereupon abandoned the siege of Ptolemais. Craftily sending for Cleopatra to come against Ptolemy, Alexander at the same time concluded a league of friendship with him, promising four hunded talents of silver if he would dispose of Zoilus and give his country to the Jews. Ptolemy gladly made a league with Alexander, and turned upon and subdued Zoilus[2]. Afterward, however, when he learned that Alexander had planned to betray him into Cleopatra's power, he broke his solemn covenant and started to lay waste Alexander's domain, besides starting a siege against Ptolemais (*Ant.* XIII, 12:3, 4). Just what disposition was finally made of Dor during these troublous times after Zoilus was "subdued" is not clear.

The passage (*Ant.* XIII, 12:2, 4) reads:

Καταστησάμενος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὃν ᾤετο συμφέρειν αὐτῷ τρόπον στρατεύει ἐπὶ Πτολεμαΐδα, τῇ δὲ μάχῃ κρατήσας ἐνέκλεισε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ

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[1] In *Ant.* XIII, 9:3; 10:1; 13:4 he is called Antiochus Grypus. Hölscher (*Die Quellen des Josephus*, p. 39) shows that this variation is due to the use of different sources, probably by Strabo.

[2] In view of Ptolemy's repudiation of their agreement upon learning of Alexander's double-dealing, it may be doubted whether Dor was finally actually delivered to the Jews. At least Dor is omitted from the list (contained in *Ant.* XIII, 15:4) of cities subject to Alexander, although Strato's Tower (Caesarea), its neighbor on the south, is mentioned. On the other side must be adduced the evidence of *Ant.* XIV, 4:4 (parallel to *B.J.*, I, 7:7—see below), where Dor is included among the cities taken from the Jews and restored to freedom as part of the province of Syria. Josephus' notoriously uncritical use of his sources (as well as his personal bias) complicates exceedingly the problem of deciding what actually is or is not fact in any given case.

περικαθίσας αὐτοὺς ἐπολιόρκει. τῶν γὰρ ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ Πτολεμαῒς αὐτῷ καὶ Γάζα μόναι χειρωθῆναι ὑπελείποντο, καὶ Ζώϊλος δὲ ὁ κατασχὼν τὸν Στράτωνος πύργον τύραννος καὶ Δῶρα. τοῦ δὲ Φιλομήτορος Ἀντιόχου καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀντιόχου, ὃς ἐπεκαλεῖτο Κυζικηνός, πολεμούντων ἀλλήλους καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν ἀπολλύντων ἦν οὐδεμία τοῖς Πτολεμαεῦσιν βοήθεια παρ' αὐτῶν. ἀλλὰ πονουμένοις τῇ πολιορκίᾳ Ζώϊλος ὁ τὸν Στράτωνος πύργον κατεσχηκὼς [παρῆν] καὶ τὰ Δῶρα σύνταγμα τρέφων στρατιωτικὸν καὶ τυραννίδι ἐπιχειρῶν διὰ τὴν τῶν βασιλέων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἅμιλλαν μικρὰ τοῖς Πτολεμαιεῦσι παρεβοήθει· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ βασιλεῖς οὕτως εἶχον οἰκείως πρὸς αὐτούς, ὥστ' ἐλπίσαι τινὰ παρ' αὐτῶν ὠφέλειαν. ἑκάτεροι γὰρ ταὐτὸν τοῖς ἀθληταῖς ἔπασχον, οἳ τῇ δυνάμει μὲν ἀπηγορευκότες αἰσχυνόμενοι δὲ παραχωρῆσαι διετέλουν ἀργίᾳ καὶ ἀναπαύσει διαφέροντες τὸν ἀγῶνα. λοιπὴ δ' αὐτοῖς ἐλπὶς ἦν ἡ παρὰ τῶν Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων καὶ τοῦ Κύπρον ἔχοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λαθούρου, ὃς ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκπεσὼν εἰς Κύπρον παρεγένετο. πέμψαντες οὖν πρὸς τοῦτον οἱ Πτολεμαιεῖς παρεκάλουν ἐλθόντα σύμμαχον ἐκ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου χειρῶν αὐτοὺς ῥύσασθαι κινδυνεύοντας. ἐπελπισάντων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν πρέσβεων, ὡς διαβὰς εἰς Συρίαν ἕξει Γαζαίους συνεστῶτας μετὰ τῶν Πτολεμαιῶν καὶ Ζώϊλον, ἔτι γε μὴν Σιδωνίους καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους αὐτῷ συλλήψεσθαι λεγόντων, ἐπαρθεὶς πρὸς τὸν ἔκπλουν ἔσπευδεν.

(Then follows in 12:3 the account of a change of heart on the part of the inhabitants of Ptolemais and their decision to have nothing to do with Ptolemy. Although he learned of this, Ptolemy came straight on and pitched camp near the city. But when the people would have nothing to do with him, he was at a loss what to do.)

XIII, 12:4. ἐλθόντων δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ζωΐλου τε καὶ τῶν Γαζαίων, καὶ δεομένων συμμαχεῖν αὐτοῖς πορθουμένης αὐτῶν τῆς χώρας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, λύει μὲν πολιορκίαν δείσας τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀπαγαγὼν δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐστρατήγει τὸ λοιπόν, λάθρᾳ μὲν τὴν Κλεοπάτραν ἐπὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον μεταπεμπόμενος, φανερῶς δὲ φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑποκρινόμενος· καὶ τετρακόσια δ' ἀργυρίου τάλαντα δώσειν ὑπέσχετο, χάριν ἀντὶ τούτων αἰτῶν Ζώϊλον ἐκ ποδῶν ποιήσασθαι τὸν τύραννον καὶ τὴν χώραν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις προσνεῖμαι. τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἡδέως τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ποιησάμενος φιλίαν χειροῦται τὸν Ζώϊλον, ὕστερον δ' ἀκούσας λάθρα διαπεμπόμενον αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ Κλεοπάτραν, λύει τοὺς γεγενημένους πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅρκους, καὶ προσβαλὼν ἐπολιόρκει τὴν Πτολεμαΐδα μὴ δεξαμένην αὐτόν . . . .

XIII, 12:2 "When he (i. e., Alexander Jannaeus) had arranged the government in the way he considered most advantageous for

himself, he made an expedition against Ptolemais; and having con-
quered in a battle he shut up the men in the city, and sat round
about them and began a siege. For, of the cities on the coast,
there alone remained to be conquered by him Ptolemais and Gaza,
besides the tyrant Zoilus who held Strato's Tower and Dor. Now
inasmuch as Antiochus Philometer and his brother Antiochus, who
was called Cyzicenus, were waging war against one another and
destroying one another's armies, the people of Ptolemais could get
no aid from them. But when they were in distress on account of
the siege Zoilus, who possessed Strato's Tower and Dor and main-
tained a body of soldiers, and acted as tyrant because of the contest
between the kings, came and brought a little help to the people of
Ptolemais. Nor indeed were the kings so friendly disposed toward
them that they could hope for any succour from them. For both
were in the same predicament as wrestlers who, though they have
become deficient in strength, are yet ashamed to yield, and so con-
tinue lazily and prolong the contest by resting. Their sole remain-
ing hope was in the kings of Egypt, and from Ptolemy Lathyrus
who was holding Cyprus, and who came to Cyprus after being cast
out from his rule by his mother Cleopatra. The people of Ptole-
mais therefore sent to this man and besought him to deliver them,
endangered as they were, out of the hands of Alexander. And
since the ambassadors held forth hopes to him that when once
he had crossed over into Syria he would have the people of Gaza
joining with those of Ptolemais; and as they also said that Zoilus
and the Sidonians besides and many others would assist him; he
was elated and hurried the preparations for sailing."

(The people of Ptolemais decide not to receive Ptolemy. He is
greatly concerned.)

12:4. "But when both Zoilus and the people of Gaza came to
him and desired that he would be their ally because their country
was laid waste by the Jews and by Alexander—Alexander, being
afraid of Ptolemy, raised the siege. And having led away his
army into his own country, he used strategy afterward, by secretly
summoning Cleopatra to come against Ptolemy, but publicly pre-
tending friendship and a real alliance with him. And he agreed to
give four hundred talents of silver, desiring in return that he
should put Zoilus the tyrant out of the way and allot his country
to the Jews. And then indeed Ptolemy gladly made this league of

friendship with Alexander, and subdued Zoilus; but when he after-
ward heard that he had secretly sent to his mother Cleopatra, he
broke the oaths he had made to him, and attacked and besieged
Ptolemais because it refused to receive him."

Strabo is most probably Josephus' source of information in this
section. In XIII, 12:6 Josephus expressly cites Strabo and Nico-
laus (of Damascus) as his sources. A comparison of XIII, 10:4
indicates that, of these two, Strabo was more probably the author
of the section XIII, 12:6 (and so of 12:2–4), concerned as they
both are with Ptolemy[1]. In fact, the so-called "Syriaca" would
all seem to belong to this writer[2]. Destinon[3], however, holds that
the direct use of Strabo and other sources by Josephus was limited
to the passages where the name of the source is expressly cited.
In other instances he leaves open the possibility that the anony-
mous historian he supposes Josephus used as source may have
utilized these authors. It appears quite probable therefore, that
Strabo was really the source of the sections under discussion.

<center>ANTIQUITIES XIII, 15:4.</center>

Dor is not included by Josephus in his catalogue of Syrian,
Idumean and Phoenician cities held by Alexander Jannaeus toward
the close of his career (*Ant.* XIII, 15:4). The list begins with
Στράτωνος πύργον, just south of Dor, and follows the coast toward
the south. As we have seen above, it is questionable whether the
Jews ever exercised any real control over Dor. This in spite of
the fact that Josephus further on in this same passage includes
Καρμήλιον ὄρος ("Mount Carmel") and ἄλλας τε πόλεις προτενούσας
τῆς Συρίας ἦσαν κατεστραμμένοι ("other prominent cities of Syria
which had been destroyed"). It would be unsafe to include Dor
in the list on the basis of such uncertain generalizations by
Josephus. It has already been suggested that there is no clear
statement in *Ant.* XIII, 12:2, 4 to the effect that Dor was ever

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[1] Timagenes (quoted in 12:5) was probably one of Strabo's sources, known
to Josephus only through the latter.

[2] Hölscher, *Die Quellen des Josephus*, pp. 15, 39; Schürer in Hauck-Her-
zog, s.v. Josephus. Hölscher maintains (p. 40) that Polybius and Posidonius
are in turn Strabo's sources. For the period after 143 B.C. (and therefore
for the time of this passage) Hölscher believes Posidonius is the original
source.

[3] *Die Quellen des Fl. Josephus*, pp. 57 ff.

turned over to Alexander. We must therefore disagree with
Schürer[1] in his statement "aber auch Dora *muss* zum Gebiet
Alexanders gehört haben[2]." All we can say is that there is a
possibility that it was subject to him for a time.

<div align="center">ANT. XIV. 4:4 AND B.J., I, 7:7.</div>

After his capture of Jerusalem in 63 B.C., Pompey, according
to Josephus, proceeded to take from the Jews many of the cities
that were at that time recognized as part of their realm. He
thereby greatly reduced the extent of Jewish territory. Dor is
included by Josephus among the cities restored to their own inhabi-
tants and incorporated within the Roman province of Syria. From
Pompey's time Dor seems, therefore, to have been directly under
Roman rule. Josephus gives two accounts of these changes, one
in Ant. XIV, 4:4 and a second in B.J. I, 7:7:

καὶ τὰ μὲν Ἱεροσόλυμα ὑποτελῆ φόρου Ῥωμαίοις ἐποίησεν, ἃς δὲ πρότερον οἱ
ἔνοικοι πόλεις ἐχειρώσαντο τῆς κοίλης Συρίας ἀφελόμενος ὑπὸ τῷ σφετέρῳ
στρατηγῷ ἔταξεν καὶ τὸ σύμπαν ἔθνος ἐπὶ μέγα πρότερον αἰρόμενον ἐντὸς τῶν
ἰδίων ὅρων συνέστειλεν. καὶ Γάδαρα μὲν μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν καταστραφεῖσαν
ἀνέκτισεν Δημητρίῳ χαριζόμενος τῷ Γαδαρεῖ ἀπελευθέρῳ αὐτοῦ· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς
Ἵππον καὶ Σκυθόπολιν καὶ Πέλλαν καὶ Δῖον καὶ Σαμάρειαν ἔτι τε Μάρισαν καὶ
Ἄζωτον καὶ Ἰάμνειαν καὶ Ἀρέθουσαν τοῖς οἰκήτορσιν ἀπέδωκεν. καὶ ταύτας
μὲν ἐν τῇ μεσογείῳ χωρὶς τῶν κατεσκαμμένων, Γάζαν δὲ πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ
Ἰόππην καὶ Δῶρα καὶ Στράτωνος πύργον, ἣ κτίσαντος αὐτὴν Ἡρώδου μεγαλο-
πρεπῶς καὶ λιμέσιν τε καὶ ναοῖς κοσμήσαντος, Καισάρεια μετωνομάσθη πάσας ὁ
Πομπήιος ἀφῆκεν ἐλευθέρας καὶ προσένειμεν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ.

"And he made Jerusalem tributary to the Romans, and took
away the cities of Coelesyria which the inhabitants (of Judaea) had
in former times subdued, and he put them under their own praetor
and confined the whole nation which had before so greatly elevated
itself, within its own borders. And he rebuilt Gadara, which had
shortly before been demolished, to gratify Demetrius of Gadara, his
freedman. And the rest of the cities, Hippos, Scythopolis, Pella,
Dios, and Samaria, as well as Marissa, Azotus, Jamnia, and Are-
thusa, he restored to their inhabitants: and these were in the

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[1] *G.J.V.* I, 285.

[2] Schürer's further statement (*l.c.*) that Zoilus was subdued by Alexander
is not accurate. According to the record it was Ptolemy Lathyrus who
subdued Zoilus.

interior; as well as those that had been demolished. And also on the sea-coast, Gaza, and Joppa, and Dor, and Strato's Tower; this last Herod rebuilt in glorious fashion and adorned it with havens and temples, and changed its name to Caesarea. All these Pompey left free and joined to the prefecture."

B. J. I, 7 : 7.

Ἀφελόμενος δὲ τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τὰς ἐν κοίλῃ Συρίᾳ πόλεις, ἃς εἷλον, ὑπέταξεν τῷ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνο Ῥωμαίων στρατηγῷ [κατατεταγμένῳ] καὶ μόνοις αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἰδίοις ὅροις περιέκλεισεν. ἀνακτίζει δὲ καὶ Γάδαρα ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων κατεστραμμένην Γαδαρεῖ τινὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπελευθέρων Δημητρίῳ χαριζόμενος. ἠλευθέρωσεν δ᾽ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ πόλεις, ὅσας μὴ φθάσαντες κατέσκαψαν, Ἵππον Σκυθόπολίν τε καὶ Πέλλαν καὶ Σαμάρειαν καὶ Ἰάμνειαν καὶ Μάρισαν Ἄζωτόν τε καὶ Ἀρέθουσαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς παραλίους Γάζαν Ἰόπην Δῶρα καὶ τὴν πάλαι Στράτωνος πύργον καλουμένην, ὕστερον δὲ μετακτισθεῖσάν τε ὑφ᾽ Ἡρώδου βασιλέως λαμπροτάτοις κατασκευάσμασιν καὶ μετονομασθεῖσαν Καισάρειαν. ἃς πάσας τοῖς γνησίοις ἀποδοὺς πολίταις κατέταξεν εἰς τὴν Συριακὴν ἐπαρχίαν. παραδοὺς δὲ ταύτην τε καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τὰ μέχρις Αἰγύπτου καὶ Εὐφράτου Σκαύρῳ διέπειν . . . .

"He also took away from the nation those cities in Coelesyria which they had taken, and made them subject to him that had been appointed Roman praetor there, and shut them in to their own proper bounds. He also rebuilt Gadara, that had been demolished by the Jews, to gratify a certain Demetrius of Gadara, who was one of his own freedmen. He also freed from their domination cities that lay in the interior, such as they had not previously demolished, Hippos, and Scythopolis, besides Pella, and Samaria, and Jamnia, and Marissa, as well as Azotus and Arethusa; in like manner dealt he with the maritime cities, Gaza, Joppa, Dor, and that which was anciently called Strato's Tower, but was afterward rebuilt with most magnificent edifices by Herod the King, and its name changed to Caesarea. All of these he delivered over to their true citizens and put them under the province of Syria. And he committed this province, together with Judea and the countries as far as Egypt and the Euphrates to Scaurus to govern . . . ."

The omission of Dios in Bellum Judaicum I, 7 : 7 above is probably due to an error in copying[1]. It seems fairly well agreed that

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[1] Destinon, *Die Quellen des Fl. Jos.*, p. 14; Hölscher, *Die Quellen des Jos.*, p. 20.

Nicolaus of Damascus is Josephus' principal source in both these passages[1]. Destinon (pp. 17 ff.) accounts for the difference (cp. the addition of the name "Scaurus" in *B.J.*) on the theory that while Josephus used Nicolaus as his source in both the Antiquities and the Jewish War, he excerpted the two histories independently, using or omitting each time such material as he chose. Hölscher is inclined to find in the variations in the two accounts evidence of the use by Josephus of an additional source.

As has already been suggested, the inclusion in this passage of Dor among the cities subject to the Jews is open to question. In the troublous days of party dissension that followed the death of the ambitious invader, Alexander Jannaeus, it is hardly probable that the nation could have kept control of its outlying dependencies[2]. In the absence of definite corroboration of the details of Josephus' account, we must hold in suspense a decision in regard to Dor's relations to Judaea at the time of Pompey's arrival. But we have no reason to doubt that Dor was made by him a so-called "free" city[3]. The coins of the city establish this fact beyond any possibility of a doubt[4].

ANTIQUITIES XIV, 5:3 AND BELLUM JUDAICUM I, 8:4.

In Ant. XIV, 5:3 all the manuscripts except Pal. include Δῶρα among the cities restored by Gabinius, the proconsul, in 57 B. C. The parallel passage in B.J. I, 8:4 has Δώρεος in most manuscripts; but two good manuscripts read ᾿Αδώρεος. The correct reading is undoubtedly ῎Αδωρα (or ᾿Αδώρεος). The fact that it is mentioned along with Marisa points to the Idumean city Adora as the one here referred to. Niese is therefore correct in reading ῎Αδωρα in the passage in Antiquities. How easily the change from Dora to Adora can take place is illustrated by the passage Ant. XIII, 6:5, where all the manuscripts read Δῶρα πόλιν τῆς ᾿Ιδουμαίας, yet where, as a comparison of 1 Macc. 13:20 proves, ῎Αδωρα is clearly meant[5].

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[1] So Destinon, Hölscher, Schürer, Margoliouth.

[2] It has been suggested above that we are none too certain that Dor was ever taken in possession by the Jews.

[3] These "free" cities were, of course, subject to military duties under Rome. Cp. Schürer, *G.J.V.* II, 105.

[4] Hill, *Greek Coins of Phoenicia*, p. 117.

[5] Schürer, *G.J.V.* II, 7; Reland, *Palaestina*, pp. 738–741; cp. also *Contra Ap.* II, 9 below. — Perhaps the similarity in uncial script between Δ and A may have had something to do with the miswriting of ῎Αδωρα.

In view of the fact that Dor is not included in this corrected list, the statement of Cook (in *Enc. Bib.*, s.v. Dor) to the effect that "Gabinius restored the town and harbor (56 B. C.)" must be corrected. Similarly, Guérin's declaration (in *Samarie* 2 : 312 f.) to the same effect is incorrect.

ANTIQUITIES XV, 4 : 1 AND BELLUM JUDAICUM I, 18 : 5.

Cleopatra's attempt to persuade Antony to deprive Herod the Great of his kingdom and to turn all Judea over to her was rendered ineffectual through Herod's presents and skillful address (*Ant.* XIII, 38). Antony did, however, bestow upon her some of Herod's territory about Jericho; in addition to this he gave her all the (coast) cities south of the Eleutherus river, except Tyre and Sidon. Dor would be included in this gift. The date of this cession was c. 34 B. C. With the defeat of Antony at Actium (31 B. C.), if not before, Cleopatra's possession of these tributary cities of course ceased. Augustus was shortly won over by the generous hospitality Herod accorded him and his army on their march through Syria. Arrived in Egypt, he restored to Herod the part of his realms taken by Cleopatra, adding thereto among others the coast cities Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and Strato's Tower. Dor is not included here, and we have no reason to believe that Herod's realm ever extended farther north on the coast than Caesarea.

The account of the gift of the coast cities by Antony to Cleopatra is thus recorded in Ant. XV, 4 : 1 (end):

δίδωσιν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐντὸς Ἐλευθέρου ποταμοῦ πόλεις ἄχρις Αἰγύπτου χωρὶς Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος, ἐκ προγόνων εἰδὼς ἐλευθέρας, πολλὰ λιπαρούσης αὐτῆς αὐτῇ δοθῆναι.

"Thus he gave her the cities that were this side of the river Eleutherus as far as Egypt; he made exception however of Tyre and Sidon (for he knew they had been free cities from the time of their ancestors), although she frequently begged that these might also be given her."

The parallel account in B.J. I, 18 : 5 reads:

πολλὰ δὲ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἀποτεμόμενος καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἱεριχοῦντι φοινικῶνα ἐν ᾧ γεννᾶται τὸ βάλσαμον, δίδωσιν αὐτῇ πόλεις τε πλὴν Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος τὰς ἐντὸς Ἐλευθέρου ποταμοῦ πάσας.

"He also cut off a great deal of their country; nay, even the palm plantation at Jericho, where the balsam grows, and gave

them to her; as well as all the cities this side of the river Eleutherus, Tyre and Sidon excepted."

Plutarch[1] includes in this gift to Cleopatra, Phoenicia, Coelesyria, Cyprus, a large part of Cilicia, the part of Judea that bears the balsam, and the part of Nabatean Arabia toward the Mediterranean.

Both passages from Josephus above are to be attributed to Nicolaus of Damascus as their source[2]. In the Antiquities (XV, 4:2, 4) Josephus does not state, but distinctly implies that the Jericho region (as in the account in *B.J.*) was given to Cleopatra, from whom Herod was obliged to rent it. In these parallel narratives, as elsewhere, Josephus is very free in his adaptation of his sources.

If, as seems probable, Dor is to be numbered among the coast cities in this account, we gain the information that Dor was, for a short time after 34 B. C., at least nominally tributary to Cleopatra, queen of Egypt.

ANTIQUITIES XV, 9:6 AND BELLUM JUDAICUM I, 21:5.

In connection with his account of the building of Caesarea by Herod the Great, Josephus mentions Joppa and Dor. These latter are described as smaller maritime cities, unfit for harbors because of the prevalence of violent winds from the south. As a consequence merchants are obliged to anchor their ships in the sea opposite them. According to Josephus it was for the purpose of providing a safe anchorage on this inhospitable shore between Dor and Joppa that Herod established the port of Caesarea. The account in the Antiquities (XV, 9:6) reads as follows:

κεῖται μὲν γὰρ ἡ πόλις (i. e., Caesarea) ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ κατὰ τὸν εἰς Αἴγυπτον παράπλουν Ἰόππης μεταξὺ καὶ Δώρων, πολισμάτια ταῦτ' ἐστὶν παράλια δύσορμα διὰ τὰς κατὰ λίβα προσβολάς, αἳ ἀεὶ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ πόντου θῖνας ἐπὶ τὴν ᾐόνα σύρουσαι καταγωγὴν οὐ διδόασιν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἀναγκαῖον ἀποσαλεύειν τὰ πολλὰ τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἐπ' ἀγκύρας.

"This city (i. e. Caesarea) is situated in Phoenicia, on the passage by sea to Egypt, between Joppa and Dor, which are rather small maritime cities and unfit for havens, because of the violent

[1] *Ant.* 36. See ed. Dochner, II, *Vitae* 2, p. 1111.
[2] So Hölscher, p. 25; Destinon, p. 120.

south winds which, constantly rolling the sands that come from the sea upon the shores, do not permit ships to lie at their station; but generally the merchants are obliged to lie at anchor in the sea itself."

The parallel passage is found in B.J. I, 21: 5:

μεταξὺ γὰρ Δώρων καὶ Ἰόπης, ὧν ἡ πόλις μέση κεῖται, πᾶσαν εἶναι συμβέβη-
κεν τὴν παράλιον ἀλίμενον, ὡς πάντα τὸν τὴν Φοινίκην ἐπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου παρα-
πλέοντα σαλεύειν ἐν πελάγει διὰ τὴν ἐκ λιβὸς ἀπειλήν, ᾧ καὶ μετρίως ἐπαυρίζοντι
τηλικοῦτον ἐπεγείρεται κῦμα πρὸς ταῖς πέτραις, ὥστε τὴν ὑποστροφὴν τοῦ κύμα-
τος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐξαγριοῦν τὴν θάλασσαν.

"For it happened that all the coast between Dor and Joppa (between which the city lies) was harborless, so that every ship that sailed from Phoenicia to Egypt was obliged to lie in the sea on account of the threatening south wind; if this wind blow but a little fresh, such waves are raised and dash upon the rocks, that upon their retreat the sea rages for a long time."

It is worthy of notice that Caesarea is here (*Ant.* XV, 9: 6) referred to as a city of Phoenicia. The fact that Caesarea is called Phoenician[1], and the additional fact that Greek geographers[2] make Dor a city of that same country, would tend to strengthen our doubt concerning any subjugation of Dor by the Jews. Evidently, too, the harbor at Dor was a very poor one. It was not until a much later period that the double harbor[3] was built. The building by Herod of good harbors at Caesarea, thus giving that city a great advantage as a port and gate to the surrounding country, doubtless contributed to the decline of neighboring Dor.

Nicolaus of Damascus is generally conceded to be Josephus' source for the material[4] here. As usual Josephus has made independent use of Nicolaus' material in his Antiquities and Bellum Judaicum, so that the accounts are by no means identical. The narratives agree, however, in picturing Dor as a city without good facilities as a seaport, although evidently not without some trading activity.

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[1] For fuller discussion of the word Phoenicia, see on *Contra Ap.* II, 9, below.

[2] E. g., Claudius Iolaus in *Steph. Byz.*

[3] See chapter on Topography.

[4] Destinon, p. 120; Hölscher, p. 26.

ANTIQUITIES XIX, 6:3, 4a[a].

Toward the beginning of the reign of Agrippa I (41–44 A. D.)
we learn of the existence of a Jewish synagogue in Dor. A mob
of young men carried a statue of Caesar into this synagogue and
set it up there. Agrippa had of course no authority in Dor, which
had remained under the rule of the Roman governor of Syria.
Accordingly, he complained to Publius Petronius, who was then at
the head of affairs in the province of Syria[1]. According to
Josephus' story, Petronius thereupon wrote a letter to the magis-
trates of Dor, reminding them of the liberties granted to the Jews
by Claudius, and commanding them to discover and punish those
guilty of this act of impiety. This letter, together with the record
of the incident, is contained in Ant. XIX, 6:3, 4a[a] :

πανταπασιν δὲ ὀλίγου χρόνου διελθόντος Δωρῖται νεανίσκοι τῆς ὁσιότητος
προτιθέμενοι τόλμαν καὶ πεφυκότες εἶναι παραβόλως θρασεῖς Καίσαρος ἀνδριάντα
κομίσαντες εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων συναγωγὴν ἀνέστησαν. σφόδρα τοῦτο Ἀγρίππαν
παρώξυνεν · κατάλυσιν γὰρ τῶν πατρίων αὐτοῦ νόμων ἐδύνατο. ἀμελλητὶ δὲ πρὸς
Πούπλιον Πετρώνιον, ἡγεμὼν δὲ τῆς Συρίας οὗτος ἦν, παραγίνεται καὶ καταλέγει
τῶν Δωριτῶν. ὁ δ᾽ οὐχ ἧττον ἐπὶ τῷ πραχθέντι χαλεπήνας, καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔκρι-
νεν ἀσέβειαν τὴν τῶν ἐννόμων παράβασιν, τοῖς προεστῶσι τῶν Δωριτῶν σὺν
ὀργῇ ταῦτ᾽ ἔγραψεν. ,, Πούπλιος Πετρώνιος πρεσβευτὴς Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δωριέων τοῖς πρώτοις λέγει. ἐπειδὴ τοσαύτῃ τόλ-
μῃ ἀπονοίας τινὲς ἐχρήσαντο ἐξ ὑμῶν, ὥστε μηδὲ διὰ τὸ προτεθῆναι διάταγμα
Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ περὶ τοῦ ἐφίεσθαι Ἰουδαίους φυλάσσειν
τὰ πάτρια πεισθῆναι ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ, τἀναντία δὲ πάντα πρᾶξαι, συναγωγὴν Ἰουδαίων
κωλύοντας εἶναι διὰ τὸ μεταθεῖναι ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν Καίσαρος ἀνδριάντα, παρανομοῦν-
τας οὐκ εἰς μόνους Ἰουδαίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, οὗ ὁ ἀνδριὰς βέλτιον
ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ ναῷ ἢ ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ ἐτίθετο καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ τῆς συναγωγῆς τόπῳ, τοῦ
φύσει δικαιοῦντος ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν ἰδίων τόπων κυριεύειν κατὰ τὸ Καίσαρος ἐπί-
κριμα · τοῦ γὰρ ἐμοῦ ἐπικρίματος μιμνήσκεσθαι γελοῖόν ἐστιν μετὰ τὸ τοῦ αὐτο-
κράτορος διάταγμα τοῦ ἐπιτρέψαντος Ἰουδαίοις τοῖς ἰδίοις ἔθεσι χρῆσθαι, ἔτι
μέντοι γε καὶ συμπολιτεύεσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν κεκελευκότος · τοὺς μὲν παρὰ τὸ
διάταγμα τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τοιαῦτα τετολμηκότας, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠγανάκτησαν οἱ
δοκοῦντες αὐτῶν ἐξέχειν οὐ τῇ ἰδίᾳ προαιρέσει γεγενῆσθαι λέγοντες ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ
πλήθους ὁρμῇ, ὑπὸ ἑκατοντάρχου Πρόκλου Οὐϊτελλίου ἐκέλευσα ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ ἀναχ-
θῆναι τῶν πεπραγμένων λόγον ἀποδώσοντας, τοῖς δὲ πρώτοις ἄρχουσι· παραινῶ,
εἰ μὴ βούλονται δοκεῖν κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν προαίρεσιν γεγενῆσθαι τὸ ἀδίκημα, ἐπι-

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[1] P. Petronius was governor 39-42 A. D. (Riggs, *Hist. of the Jewish People,*
see Chart.)

δεῖξαι τοὺς αἰτίους τῷ ἑκατοντάρχῃ μηδεμιᾶς στάσεως μηδὲ μάχης ἐῶντας ἀφορ-
μὴν γενέσθαι, ἥνπερ δοκοῦσίν μοι θηρεύεσθαι διὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων, κἀμοῦ καὶ
τοῦ τιμιωτάτου μοι βασιλέως Ἀγρίππου οὐδενὸς μᾶλλον προνοουμένων, ἢ ἵνα μὴ
ἀφορμῆς δραξάμενοι τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμύνης προφάσει συνα-
θροισθὲν εἰς ἀπόνοιαν χωρῇ · ἵνα δὲ γνωριμώτερον ᾖ, τί καὶ ὁ Σεβαστὸς περὶ ὅλου
τοῦ πράγματος ἐφρόνησε, τὰ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ αὐτοῦ διατάγματα προτεθέντα
προσέθηκα, ἅπερ εἰ καὶ γνώριμα πᾶσιν εἶναι δοκεῖ τότε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος
ἀνέγνω ὁ τιμιώτατός μοι βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας δικαιολογησάμενος περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν
αὐτοὺς ἀφαιρεθῆναι τῆς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ δωρεᾶς. εἴς τε οὖν τὸ λοιπὸν παραγγέλλω
μηδεμίαν πρόφασιν στάσεως μηδὲ ταραχῆς ζητεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἑκάστους τὰ ἴδια ἔθη
θρησκεύειν." Πετρώνιος μὲν οὖν οὕτω προυνόησε διορθώσεως μὲν τὸ παρανομη-
θὲν ἤδη τυχεῖν, γενέσθαι δὲ παραπλήσιον μηδὲν εἰς αὐτούς.

"But after a very little while the young men of Dor, preferring
daring to piety and being by nature boldly insolent, carried a statue
of Caesar into a synagogue of the Jews[1] and set it up. This act
provoked Agrippa exceedingly; for it tended toward the dissolution
of the laws of his nation. He therefore at once came before Pub-
lius Petronius, who was then at the head of Syria, and accused the
people of Dor. Nor did he less resent what had been done (than
did Agrippa). For he judged it an act of impiety to transgress
against lawful customs. So he angrily wrote the following to the
rulers of Dor: 'Publius Petronius, president under Tiberius Clau-
dius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, to the magistrates of the inhabi-
tants of Dor, says: Since some of you have displayed such bold
madness, after the edict of Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus
was issued, for permitting the Jews to observe their country's cus-
toms, not to obey the same; but have done everything contrary to
it, in preventing the Jews from assembling in their synagogue by
removing Caesar's statue and setting it up therein, and have com-
mitted an outrage not only against the Jews but also against the
Emperor himself, whose statue was more fitly placed in his own
temple than in a foreign one (and this is in a place of assembly);
whereas it is but natural justice that every one should have rule
over the places that belong peculiarly to them, in accordance with
the determination of Caesar; not to speak of my own determina-
tion, which it would be ridiculous to mention after the Emperor's

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[1] Cp. the command of Caligula to Petronius to set up his statue in the
temple (*Ant.* XVIII, 8:2).

edict, which gives to Jews the right to observe their own customs, as
well as commanding that they enjoy equal political privileges with
the Greeks. I command, therefore, that those men who, contrary
to the edict of Augustus, have dared do this thing (at which those
very men who appear to be most prominent among them are indig-
nant also, and allege for themselves that it was not done with their
consent but by the violence of the multitude), be brought before
me by the centurion, Proculus Vitellius, that they may give account
of the things done. Furthermore, I urge the principal magis-
trates, unless they wish to have it seem that this misdeed was done
with their consent, to point out to the centurion those that are to
blame, so as to furnish no occasion for any sort of uprising or
quarrel to arise; which they seem to me to hunt after who are con-
cerned in such doings; while both I myself and King Agrippa, for
whom I have the sincerest respect, have nothing more under our
care, than that the Jewish nation may not find an occasion of get-
ting together under the pretext of avenging themselves, and
become uncontrollable. And that it may be better known what
Augustus also has resolved about the whole matter, I have sub-
joined the edicts he lately published in Alexandria[1], which, although
they may be well known to all, yet did King Agrippa, for whom I
have the sincerest respect, read them at that time before my tribu-
nal, pleading that they ought not to be deprived of this gift which
Augustus granted. For the time to come, therefore, I charge you
to seek no occasion of any sort of sedition or disturbance, but that
each one be allowed to observe his own religious customs.' 4.
Thus, then, did Petronius provide that the breach of the law
already committed should be corrected, and that no such thing
should afterward happen to them (i. e., the Jews)."

Hölscher[2] ascribes this section of Josephus to a source which is
concerned principally with the Herodian family, and which he
therefore names the "Herodäergeschichte"[3]. The author of this
source he describes as a pious Jew, but with broader views than
those of the Pharisees. This Jew in turn had as his sources pos-
sibly Ptolemy of Ascalon, Cluvius Rufus, and state documents, in

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[1] *Ant.* XIX, 5:2, 3.

[2] *Quellen des Josephus*, pp. 68, 79, 80.

[3] This source Hölscher finds traces of in *Ant.* XIV–XVII; *Ant.* XVIII–
XX he derives practically entire from it.

addition to his own general information in regard to the events concerned. It is probable that Josephus dealt quite freely with his sources in this part of the Antiquities (as elsewhere) and that we ought to ascribe more to his free composition than Hölscher is inclined to do.

This edict of Petronius is probably the composition of some author used by Josephus as his source. Doubtless some such edict was promulgated, and the one given here is a fairly good representation of its general purport. Ancient historians felt free to compose such letters where they had no access to the original copies[1].

It is of interest to notice that in 42 A. D. there lived in Dor Jews sufficient in number to maintain a synagogue of their own. As in other cities in the Greek world they appear to have been none too popular with the citizens of the place. Agrippa I appears as the protagonist of the Jews in cities beyond his own realm. This he could do effectually because of the favor he had won with Claudius. Josephus does not give the sequel to his story; he has fulfilled his purpose in indicating the favorable attitude of the Romans toward the Jews, especially as this is illustrated in Agrippa's relations with the Roman governor and with the emperor.

CONTRA APIONEM II, 9.

Josephus (*Contra Apionem* II, 9) refers to a fable quoted by Apion from a Greek author whose name appears in manuscripts as Mnafeas[2]. This story relates how, while the Jews were at war with the Idumeans, a certain Zabidus came out of Dora, a city of Idumea. Zabidus promised to deliver Apollo, the god of Dora, into the hands of the Jews, and to bring the god into the temple, if they would all depart thence. To this the Jews agreed. Thereupon Zabidus set three rows of lamps on a wooden frame, which he fastened about him. The Jews, when he passed by them at a distance, thought they beheld a walking star. In this way Zabidus gained entrance into the temple, and carried off to Dora the golden head of an ass that was there.

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[1] See the discussion of literary habits of ancient narrators in Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, pp. 148 ff.

[2] Niese conjectures Mnaseas, the pupil of Eratosthenes, c. 200 B. C. (Schür., *G.J.V.* II, 7).

In answer to this tale, Josephus says that Apion has loaded the ass (that is, himself) with a burden of ridiculous lies. The first of these lies is his statement that there is in Idumea a city named Dor:

καὶ γὰρ τόπους οὐκ ὄντας γράφει καὶ πόλεις οὐκ εἰδὼς μετατίθησιν · ἡ μὲν γὰρ Ἰδουμαία τῆς ἡμετέρας χώρας ἐστὶν ὅμορος, κατὰ Γάζαν κειμένη, καὶ Δῶρα ταύτης ἐστὶν οὐδεμία πόλις · τῆς μέντοι Φοινίκης παρὰ τὸ Καρμήλιον ὄρος Δῶρα πόλις ὀνομάζεται, μηδὲν ἐπικοινωνοῦσα τοῖς Ἀπίωνος φλυαρήμασι · τεσσάρων γὰρ ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ἀφέστηκεν.

"For he writes of places that do not exist, and being unacquainted with cities he changes them about. For Idumea borders upon our country, and is near Gaza; in it there is no such city as Dor. There is, to be sure, a Phoenician city near Mount Carmel named Dor, which, however, has nothing to do with Apion's absurdities; for it is distant four days journey from Idumea."

Although Josephus so stoutly maintains that there is no such city as Dor in Idumea, it seems quite certain that Adora of Idumea is meant in this story. We have seen in Ant. XIV. 5:3 (parallel, *B.J.*, I, 8:4) that the initial A was easily dropped. This may have happened either through corruptions in texts or in popular speech. It seems that this town Adora is called Dura at the present time[1].

It would appear from the reference to it above that, at the time of the writing of the treatise Contra Apionem (i. e., c. 95 A. D.), Dor was known as a city, doubtless of some importance, in Phoenicia. What is here meant by " Phoenicia " is not an easy question to decide, especially as the meaning of the name seems to have varied at different periods. In some documents of the Greek period the term Κοίλη Συρία καὶ Φοινίκη ("Coele-Syria and Phoenicia") is used to designate the whole Syrian district "beyond (west of) the river (Euphrates)"[2]. The boundaries between Coele-Syria and Phoenicia evidently varied greatly. In the last century B. C. Coele-Syria seems to have been ordinarily applied only to the district between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon[3]. Hölscher[4] argues with considerable probability that the coast cities were organised by the Romans soon after Pompey's invasion into a separate official

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[1] G.A.S., *Hist. Geog.*, map ; Schür., *G.J.V.* II, 7.

[2] Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, p. 83.—This term is used as the equivalent of the Biblical עֵבֶר הַנָּהָר.

[3] Hölscher, *Palästina*, p. 12 ; Torrey, *l. c.*

[4] *L. c.*, p. 98.

district, to which the name Phoenicia was usually applied. This may explain the frequent reference to Dor by later geographers as a "Phoenician" city. It must also be remembered that the Philistines seem to have been pushed to the south at an early period, and that the interests and connections of Dor from comparatively early times seem to have been with the coastland north of Mt. Carmel. This relationship probably even antedated the cession of Dor and Joppa to Eshmunazar by the Persian king[1]; certainly that inclusion of Dor within the domains of Sidon strengthened its Phoenician character. The list of cities subject to Tyre and Sidon contained in Scylax[2] indicates that the coast south of Carmel was in his time (c. 350 B.C.) essentially Phoenician.

vita § 8.

When Josephus was sent by the leaders in Jerusalem to take charge of affairs in Galilee (66 A.D.), he found the people of Sepphoris in great trouble. Because of their friendly attitude toward the Romans and their league with Cestius Gallus, legate of Syria, the Galileans had resolved to plunder them. Josephus quieted the disturbance, and allowed the people of Sepphoris to communicate with their kindred who were hostages of Cestius Gallus[3]. The latter was at this time in Dor, having evidently come down from Antioch to quell the rebellion of the Jews (*Vita* § 8):

ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν ἐγὼ παντὸς ἀπήλλαξα τοῦ φόβου πείσας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τὰ πλήθη καὶ ἐπιτρέψας ὅσα καὶ θέλουσι διαπέμπεσθαι διὰ τοὺς ἐν Δώροις οἰκείους ὁμηρεύοντας Κεστίῳ. τὰ δὲ Δῶρα πόλις ἐστὶν τῆς Φοινίκης.

"But I delivered them out of all fear, and pacified the multitude in their behalf, and permitted them to send over whatever they wished, for their own relatives were hostages with Cestius at Dor. But Dor is a city of Phoenicia."

Whether Dor was perhaps at this time used by Cestius Gallus as a base of operations is not clear. In view of the fact that Caesarea, a few miles south of Dor, was used by the procurator of Judea as his capital city, it seems rather remarkable that the hostages were not sent there. It may be that the attack of the Jews upon

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[1] See discussion of Eshmunazar inscription above.

[2] Müller, *Geog. Graeci Minores*, I, 79.

[3] But cp. *Vita* § 67, where Josephus storms this city when the inhabitants send to Cestius Gallus for aid.

Caesarea to avenge the slaughter of their countrymen there[1] had rendered it unsafe; and that Dor, lying farther to the north, with pronounced anti-Jewish proclivities[2] and not so easily accessible from Jewish territory, furnished temporarily safer shelter[3]. Dor is here once more reckoned as part of Phoenicia[4].

JOSEPHUS IN STEPHAN OF BYZANTIUM.

After referring to Hecataeus[5] as his authority for the statement that Dor was anciently called Δῶρος but more recently called Δῶρα, Stephan of Byzantium[6] proceeds to cite Josephus, who illustrates both usages:

καὶ οὕτως Ἰώσηπος αὐτὴν καλεῖ ἐν ε τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἱστορίας " ἀπὸ μὲν Ἰορδάνου μέχρι Δώρων πόλεως." καὶ πάλιν " Ἀζώτῳ καὶ Δώροις ὁριζόμενοι." καὶ ἐν ς " εἶναι τι γύναιον ἐν πόλει Δώρῳ." καὶ πάλιν " ὅτε ἤνεγκεν εἰς τὴν Δῶρον."

"And thus does Josephus refer to it in Book 5 of his Jewish History: ' From the Jordan to the city Dora.' And again: ' Bounded by Azotus and Dora.' And in Book 6: ' That there was a certain (little) woman in the city Doros.' And again: ' When he brought into Doros.' "

The first quotation given by Stephan above is. from Ant. V, 1:22, where Josephus relates that the allotment of the half-tribe of Manasseh extended from the Jordan to the city Dor, with its breadth at Bethshan (Scythopolis). It has been shown above[7] that the whole matter of the original territories of the various tribes is so confused in the various Biblical accounts that nothing can be definitely determined concerning it. Probably the borders were not fixed in early times; certainly not at the time when the tribes were gradually taking possession of the land. Josephus' statement here is, consequently, of little value.

The second quotation above is likewise from Ant. V, 1:22, and describes the limits of the territory of the Danites. This account

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[1] *B.J.* II, 18:1, 2.

[2] See *Ant.* XIX, 6:3, 4 above.

[3] It is always possible that Josephus' details are not accurate, although he ought to be well-informed in the present instance.

[4] See *Contra Ap.* II, 9 above.

[5] See p. 62.

[6] Ed. Meineke, 1849, p. 254.

[7] See p. 52.

also is of no particular historical value, especially in view of the
fact that we see the Danites changing their location in the narra-
tive contained in the Book of Judges. Both these quotations from
Ant. V, 1:22 serve to illustrate the use of the plural form Δῶρα,
which Stephan has just referred to (in the preceding quotation
from Hecataeus) as the later form of Dor's name.

The third and fourth quotations from Josephus above are found
in Ant. VI, 14:2. The passage deals with the visit of Saul to the
witch of Endor, and has nothing whatever to do with Dor. The
name should be read (with Naber) Ἐνδωρος[1]. These last two cita-
tions (i. e. from *Ant.* VI, 14:2) differ somewhat from our present
text. The former reads[2] εἶναι τι γύναιον τοιοῦτον ἐν πόλει Δώρῳ. Here
τοιοῦτον has dropped out in some way. In the latter citation, the
texts of Naber and Niese read: ἧκεν εἰς τὴν Δῶρον. The variations in
Stephan may be due to his carelessness, or more probably to a
different reading in the text he had before him. The fact that the
MSS. differ in the word preceding ἧκεν (Naber writing ὄντας and
Niese ἄνδρας) shows that text-corruption was present here. Stephan
apparently has an inferior reading. These last two quotations
serve to illustrate for Stephan the use of the form Δῶρος.

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[1] In his critical notes on the passage (vol. II, p. VIII) Naber remarks:
"Steph. Byz. urbs appellatur Δῶρος et consentiunt R O; error est ex duarum
urbium confusione." Niese (vol. 2, p. 63) retains the reading Δῶρος.

[2] Naber and Niese.

DOR IN THE TALMUD.

Once only is Dor mentioned in the Talmud. It occurs in a list of frontiers of Israel, dating probably from the time of John Hyrcanus (135–105 B. C.) and Alexander Jannaeus (104–78 B. C.)[1]. Neubauer[2] gives the various readings of the name (which occurs between Caesarea and Akko) as follows:

    (a) Tal de Jér., Schebiith VI:1:   דרור .

    (b) Tosiftha, Schebiith, Ch. 3:   ידור .

    (c) Siphré, sect. Ekeb, à la fin: דור .

    (d) Yalkout, sect. Ekeb, § 674:   דירו .

The variations in the form of the name indicate that the texts here have become quite corrupt.

In the Jerusalem Talmud, ושינא precedes דרור . This Hildesheimer[3] reads with Dor and translates "die Klippe, die Höhe von Dor." Neubauer[4], on the contrary, maintains that שינא should be connected, as in the other redactions, with the preceding שר or שד and that the word should be read שרשינא (or שרישנא). In order that we may have the various readings of the preceding town (i. e., Caesarea) before us, I again quote from Neubauer's table opposite p. 11, No. 2:

(a) Tal. de Jér., Schebiith, VI:1:   חימת מגדל שיד ושינא .

(b) Tos., Schebiith,Ch. 3: (ושורא דקיסרא) וחומר מגדל שרשונה .

(c) Siphré, sect. Ekeb., à la fin: חומת מדבר שרשך .

(d) Yalkout, sect. Ekeb., § 674:   חומת מגדל שרשן .

Here, too, there is evidently such great confusion in the readings, that absolute certainty as to the original text can hardly be reached.

Neubauer connects his שרשינא with the old name of Caesarea, Στράτωνος πύργος. This in turn he derives (with Renan) from the Phoenician עבר עשתרת .[5] But שרשינא seems very unlike both the Phoenician and its derived Greek form. We cannot, therefore, accept his explanation as the correct one.

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[1] Hildesheimer, *Beiträge z. Geog. Pal.*, p. 10.

[2] *La Géographie du Talmud*, No. 3 on table opp. p. 11.

[3] *Beiträge*, p. 10.

[4] *La Géographie*, pp. 11, 15.

[5] Buhl (*Géog.*, p. 211) finds in the Greek name an original Astartyaton.

Hildesheimer[1] translates מִגְדַּל שִׁיד of the Jerusalem Talmud as
"Devils-Tower"[2], explaining it as a nickname for a town called
after a worshipper of Astarte. Such a substitution of "devil" for
the name of a heathen deity is quite in accord with Jewish usage,
and may well be the true way of accounting for שִׁיד here[3].

In connecting שִׁינָא with דְרוֹר (which he reads as דְדוֹר) and
making the phrase equivalent to נְפַת דּוֹר, however, Hildesheimer
probably errs. All the redactions except the Jerusalem Talmud
connect these letters with the foregoing, and their evidence is worth
something. It is true that שִׁינָא, שֵׁן may be translated "die
Klippe, die Höhe"[4]. But the word should probably be read with
the foregoing, "wall of Devils-Tower"[5]. Because of the corrupt
text some copyist seems to have made a mistake here in repeating
שִׁיד (or שִׁידָא); this in turn became שִׁינָא by the change of a
single letter, ד to נ (cp. the confusion in the other three redac-
tions). This שִׁינָא was later probably connected with the word
מִגְדַּל, "tower" (which may have had some resemblance to a
tooth), and allowed to stand. We find the word שִׁינוּתָא (also
שׁוּנִיתָא), which likewise may be translated "Klippe" (notice its
resemblance to שִׁינָא), used elsewhere in connection with Caesarea.
Levy[6] quotes the phrase בְּשִׁינוּתָא דְקֵיסָרִין "on the cliff of
Caesarea" from Num. r. sect. 18, 236 d[7]. The explanatory gloss,
וְשׁוּרָא דְקֵיסָרָא ("Rock, or Cliff, of Caesarea"), in the second
section from Tosiftha quoted above illustrates how a similar gloss
וְשִׁינָא ("Cliff") may have been allowed to stand in the Jerusalem
Talmud. This reference to Dor as one of the border cities of Israel
does not mean that the city was itself included within the nation.
The territory of the nation extended simply *to* Dor or its environs.

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[1] P. 4; cp. G.A.S., in *Enc. Bib.* I, p. 617, s.v. Caesarea, § 1.

[2] I. e., שֵׁיד, שִׁידָא, "demon."

[3] Caesarea is called in *Midrash Shir ha-Shirim* I, 5, a "city of abomina-
tion and blasphemy." (Neubauer, p. 96.)

[4] Levy, IV, 582–3; originally the word means "tooth," then a tooth-
shaped rock or "cliff." So also Jastrow, *Tal. Dict.* II, p. 1603.

[5] Jastrow (II, p. 1603) however accepts Hildesheimer's arrangement and
translation.

[6] IV, p. 547.

[7] Cp. also Levy, IV, p. 522.

THE COINS OF DOR.

The issuing of coins at Dor[1] does not seem to have begun until after the "liberation"[2] of the city by Pompey in 64–63 B. C. It is from this date that the city dates its era[3]. That the attribution to Dor of a coin issued by Trypho (who was imprisoned there 139–8 B. C.) was erroneous, has been demonstrated by Babelon[4]. On the basis of a duplicate of this coin and a more careful reading, he has shown that it should be read ΛΛ[5] ΔΣΚ, instead of ΔΩΡ.ΙΕ.Κ.Α.[6].

The form of the ethnic on the coins is either ΔΩΡΙΤΩΝ or ΔΩΡΕΙΤΩΝ[7]; one coin, owing to a dittography, has ΔΩΡΙΡΙΤΩΝ. The other forms of the name which have been recorded are the result of errors of reading or of transcription[8]. Under Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius we find the title ΔΩΡιτῶν ΙΕΡὰ ΑСΥΛος ΑΥΤΟΝομος ΝΑΥΑΡΧΙС or merely ΔΩΡΑ ΙΕΡΑ[9]. With these high-

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[1] Hill, *Cat'g. of Greek Coins of Phoenicia*, pp. LXXIV ff., 113–117 : Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides*, pp. CLXIX f., 205–7 ; de Saulcy, *Terre Sainte*, pp. 142–148 ; Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 792.

[2] Josephus, *Ant.* XIV, 4:4 ; *B.J.* I. 7:7 ; see p. 74 above.

[3] Hill, p. LXXIV ; Head, p. 792 ; Babelon, p. CLXX ; Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, I, p. 459 ; de Saulcy, pp. 143 f., 405 ; Eckhel, *Doctr. Num. Vet.* III, pp. 362 ff.; Schür., *G.J.V.* II, p. 140. Kubitschek (*Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn*, XIII, 1890, p. 209) places the era between 63 and 59 B. C., and denies that Dor dated from Pompey. In his article " Aera " in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Enz.* I, p. 649 f., however, Kubitschek is undecided as to the date.—On the basis of a doubtful reading, de Saulcy (p. 144) supposes that a single coin of Vespasian is dated according to the era of Gabinius. But in this he works on the mistaken presumption that Gabinius restored Dor (see above, p. 76). In like manner Kubitschek (*Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn*, XIII, 1890, p. 209) and Hill (p. LXXV) have failed to perceive that Adora in Idumea is the city meant in the passages Jos., *Ant.* XIV, 5:3 ; *B.J.* I, 8:4.

[4] *Rois de Syrie* (1890), pp. CXXXIX f., 137.

[5] The L before the date has usually been supposed to be an Egyptian character. It is more probably a fragmentary and specialized form of the E of ΕΤΟΥΣ, (see Head, p. LXXXVII).

[6] Hill, *l. c.*

[7] These are, of course, equivalent forms.

[8] Babelon, *Les Perses Achém.*, p. CLXX ; Hill, p. LXXV.

[9] Hill, *l. c.*; Head, p. 792.

sounding titles certain privileges were bound up. The title ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος in the Greek and Roman periods extended to whole cities the privilege of asylum which was originally confined to sanctuaries[1]. The significance of the term αὐτόνομος varies slightly at different periods. It is not the same as ἐλεύθερος. The "free" towns were almost entirely independent of Rome, while the "autonomous" cities were not far removed in organization from those directly subject to the Romans. The "autonomous" cities were required to pay taxes and to furnish auxiliary troops upon demand; while in the subject cities direct levies of troops were made by the Roman officials. The statement in Josephus (*Ant.* XIV, 4:4; cp. *B.J.* I, 7:7) that Pompey had made Dor and other cities ἐλευθέρας implies nothing as to their relations toward Rome[2]; the statement simply indicates that these cities were freed from Jewish domination[3]. The title ναυαρχίς was conferred upon Sidon and Tripolis as well as upon Dor, doubtless because of their convenience as naval stations and because of their importance as the chief ports in their respective districts[4]. It would appear from this title that Dor had better harbor facilities in the second century of our era than the remains at present visible would indicate[5].

According to the tradition preserved by Claudius Iolaus[6] the eponymous founder of Dor was Doros, the son of Poseidon. It is probable that this hero is intended by the Poseidon-like deity represented on some of the coins[7]. On the other hand, this may easily be intended to represent Zeus[8]. Another type that frequently occurs is the turret-crowned Tyche of the city. Astarte

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[1] Schür., *G.J.V.* II, p. 105; Moore in *Enc. Bib.* I, pp. 377 f., s.v. Asylum; Head, p. LXXX.

[2] Schürer, *G.J.V.* II, pp. 104 f.

[3] On the whole question of the significance of the term αὐτόνομος, see Schür. II, pp. 104 ff.; Mommsen, *Handbuch der Röm. Alterthümer*, V. III, pt. I, 658 f. (Röm. Staatsrecht); Head, p. LXXX.

[4] Head, p. LXXX; Babelon, *Les Perses Achém.*, p. CLXX.

[5] Cp. the tradition related by Claudius Iolaus (see below p. 94) that Dor was provided with good harborage. . . . . At Tyre and Sidon, similarly, the ancient harbors seem to have been larger and better protected than the ones built later. See Baedeker (2) pp. 272 ff., 278 ff.

[6] *Steph. Byz.* s.v. Δῶρος; see pp. 94 ff.

[7] Hill, p. LXXIV; Head, p. 792.

[8] Babelon, *Les Perses Achém.*, pp. 205-7; Schür., *G.J.V.* II, p. 35.

on many of the coins holds a naval standard; this has also been
called a mast with a sail or a vexillum[1].

The most complete and accurate treatment of the coins of Dor
is that by G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Phoenicia*,
pp. 113-118. Some forty-three coins from Dor are listed, all
made of bronze. Two are dated in the year 1 (LA) i.e., 64-63
B.C. The attribution of these two coins to Dor is not absolutely
certain, inasmuch as the name is abbreviated to the doubtful form
ΔΩ. The fact that the coin next in date comes from a period one
hundred and twenty-eight years later (64-5 A.D.) increases our
suspicion regarding the correctness of the attribution of these coins
to Dor. On the obverse of these two coins appears the head of
Tyche, veiled and turreted. The reverse of the one presents Tyche
standing, holding a cornucopia in the left hand, with the right
hand resting on a tiller. The reverse of the other coin pictures an
ear of barley upright.

From the imperial period coins are listed both with and without
the heads of emperors. Those without the emperor's likeness date
from 64-5 to 75-6 A.D. A frequent type of this class represents
on the obverse the head of Doros bearded and laureate; on the
reverse occurs the figure of Astarte with turreted crown, long
chiton and peplos, moving left, head right, holding a standard and
cornucopia in the right and left hands respectively. Another
type of coin has on the obverse a bust of Tyche, turreted and
veiled; on the reverse appears Astarte standing with standard and
cornucopia. A variation of this type substitutes a galley for
Astarte on the reverse side. Again we find a coin with Doros
obverse and Tyche reverse.

The coins with heads of emperors date from the reign of Ves-
pasian (69-79 A.D.) to that of Elagabalus (218-222 A.D.)[2]. Under
Vespasian two coins are described, with the emperor's head obverse
and a standing Tyche on the reverse. Three coins of Titus are
given, similar to the one just mentioned, except that the head of
Titus supplants that of Vespasian. Seven coins are listed under
Trajan, all with his head laureate, drapery on neck and a star, on
the obverse; the reverse differs, having three times the head of

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[1] Hill, *l.c.*

[2] De Saulcy's description of coins of Geta and of Aquilia Severa await
confirmation (Hill, p. LXXV).

Doros, once the bust of the Tyche of the city and three times a standing Astarte. The obverse and reverse of the three coins of Hadrian portray respectively the bust of Hadrian and the head of Doros. Similarly the three coins of Antoninus Pius have the bust of the emperor and the head of Doros. The one coin of Elagabalus pictures on the reverse a temple with six columns, with a female figure within[1].

Further finds of coins in the future will doubtless add new specimens to our collections, and will perhaps carry the history of the town under Rome somewhat farther.

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[1] This may be the representation of some temple within the city of Dor.

FROM CLAUDIUS IOLAUS TO HIEROCLES.

CLAUDIUS IOLAUS.

Claudius Iolaus, whose name would seem to indicate that he was of Roman origin[1], is quoted by Stephan of Byzantium under Δῶρος. He wrote after the rebuilding of Caesarea[2] by Herod and probably belongs to the first century A. D.[3]. His work on Phoenicia seems to have been a collection of historical and pseudo-historical notices. Of Dor he writes[4]:

καὶ Κλαύδιος Ἰούλιος ἐν γ´ Φοινικικῶν "μετὰ Καισάρειαν Δῶρα κεῖται βρα-
χεῖα πολίχνη, Φοινίκων αὐτὴν οἰκούντων, οἳ διὰ τὸ ὑπόπετρον τῶν τε αἰγιαλῶν καὶ
τὸ πορφύρας γόνιμον συνελθόντες, καλιὰς αὐτοῖς ᾠκοδομήσαντο καὶ περιβαλόμε-
νοι χάρακας, ὡς ὑπήκουεν αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς ἐργασίας, τεμνόμενοι τὰς πέτρας, διὰ τῶν
ἐξαιρουμένων λίθων τὰ τείχη κατεβάλοντο, καὶ τὴν εὔορμον χηλὴν ὅπως [οἷόν]
τε ἀσφαλῶς ἔθεντο, ἐπώνυμον αὐτὴν τῇ πατρῴῳ γλώσσῃ Δῶρ καλοῦντες. οἱ δ᾽
Ἕλληνες, χάριν τοῦ τῆς φωνῆς εὐπροφόρου, καλεῖν ἀρκοῦντα (l. ἀρκοῦνται) Δῶρα
τὴν πόλιν. καί τινες ἱστοροῦσι Δῶρον τὸν Ποσειδῶνος οἰκιστὴν αὐτῆς γεγονέναι."

"And Claudius Iolaus in (Book) 3 of the Phoenikika: 'Next to Caesarea lies Dor, a very small town inhabited by Phoenicians. These settled here because of the somewhat rocky nature of the beaches and the abundance of the purple-fish. At first they built themselves cabins, about which they placed stakes. When their business prospered, however, they split the rocks, and with the stones thus set free they built city-walls, and made a harbor with good and safe anchorage. They called the place in their native tongue Dor. But the Greeks, for the sake of its more pleasing sound, agree to call the city Dora. And some make the statement that Doros, the son of Poseidon, was its founder.'"

It has already been suggested[5] that the derivation of the name from Poseidon's son is simply one of the early legends of the city[6];

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[1] Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Enz.* III, 2728.

[2] This is indicated by his use of the name Caesarea in the passage quoted below.

[3] Pauly-Wissowa's *Enz., l. c.*; Müller, *Fragm. hist. graec.* IV, 363.

[4] *Steph. Byz.*, ed. Meineke, p. 255, s.v. Δῶρος.

[5] Page 18.

[6] This tradition seems to be the reason for the use of the Poseidon-like head on some of the coins of Dor.

so also the account here of the city's early history. Evidently the
town was of no great size in the time of Claudius Iolaus (βραχεῖα
πολίχνη—cp. Artemidorus[1] "πολισμάτιον;" Clem. Recog. IV: 1[2],
" breve oppidum;" Pliny[3], "memoria urbium.") The city wall
can still be traced in part among the ruins[4]. That the purple-
yielding murex constituted one of the sources of Dor's wealth is
easily possible, for the coast in this neighborhood contains quantities
of purple-fish[5]. The reference to Dor by Claudius Iolaus is inter-
esting for the light it throws upon legends connected with the city,
and because of the evidence it affords that early writers could even
conceive of it as being of Greek origin. Probably its spirit and
culture became in the later centuries B.C. essentially Greek in
tone.

<div align="center">PLINY.</div>

Pliny[6] speaks of Dor as though it were not in existence at the
time[7] he wrote: " Hinc redeundum est ad oram, atque Phoenicen.
Fuit oppidum Crocodilon, est flumen: memoria urbium, Doron,
Sycaminon." The Crocodile River is located south of Dor[8]. But
apart from a reference in Strabo[9] we have no further record of a
city of that name. Sycaminon is in the Onomasticon[10] identified
with Haifa, although the Talmud seems to regard the two as
distinct the one from the other. Perhaps the two names were
applied to the city proper and its harbor[11]. It is also possible that
Sycaminon ought to be identified with the ruins Tell es-Semak,
two miles distant from Haifa el-'Atīkah[12].

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[1] Page 63.

[2] Page 98.

[3] Below.

[4] Page 10.

[5] *Enc. Bib.* s.v. Dor; Ritter, *Die Erdkunde*, XVI, p. 610. Cp. Deut. 33:18,
19, where Issachar is to "suck the abundance of the seas, and the hidden
treasure of the sands." This may refer to the purple industry.

[6] *Hist. Nat.*, V, 17, ed. Gabraiels Brotier, with notes by Hardouin and
Cigalino.

[7] C. 77 A.D.

[8] See p. 7.

[9] XVI, 2, § 27.

[10] S.v. Hepha.

[11] Buhl, *Geog. des alten Pal.*, p. 214.

[12] *S.W.P. Mem.*, I, 289.—Sycaminon has also been located at 'Athlīt.

If Pliny was rightly informed by his sources, the phrase
"memoria urbium" would seem to indicate that Dor had been for
a time almost or quite in ruins[1]. The testimony of the coins[2],
however, proves that Dor was certainly issuing coins from 64 A.D.
down to the time of Elagabalus. Either Pliny was uninformed
concerning the condition of Dor in his own time, or else he is
indulging in hyperbole or loose and inexact inference.

Strabo[3] in the passage mentioned above (i.e., XVI, 2, §27) has
some interesting parallels to the statements of Pliny. He says:

μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἄκην Στράτωνος πύργος, πρόσορμον ἔχων. μεταξὺ δὲ ὅ τε
Κάρμηλος τὸ ὄρος καὶ πολιχνίων ὀνόματα, πλέον δ᾽ οὐδέν, Συκαμίνων πόλις,
Βουκόλων καὶ Κροκοδείλων πόλις καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα. εἶτα δρυμὸς μέγας τις.

"And after Ake is Strato's Tower, which has a harbor. And
between these is Mount Carmel besides the names of little towns
(and nothing more), viz., the city Sycaminoi, the cities Boukoloi
and Crocodeiloi, and others of the same sort. Then follows a cer-
tain great forest."

It is to be noticed that Strabo here omits Dor from his enumera-
tion of πολιχνίων ὀνόματα. It may be that Dor was overshadowed by
its greater neighbor Caesarea. Like Pliny, Strabo mentions the city
Sycaminon as no longer in existence. If his location of this town
is correct, it could hardly be Haifa, but more easily the ruin Tell
es-Semak already mentioned. A city Boukoloi (=herdsmen) in this
region is not elsewhere referred to. The fact that this passage in
Strabo is the only other mention of a city Crocodile (as well as the
reference to Sycaminon and the general description of the coast[4]),
may point to a dependence, either direct or through the mediation
of other writers, of Pliny upon Strabo here[5]. The testimony of
these writers is worth this much at least: It indicates that at a time
probably near the beginning of our era the coast cities in this dis-
trict suffered a temporary eclipse.

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[1] Cp. Sidon, which in 350 B. C. was captured and reduced to ashes by
Artaxerxes Ochus. By the time of the conquests of Alexander the Great
it was again a city of some importance.

[2] See above, p. 92.

[3] Date 63 B. C.–24 A. D.

[4] Notice that, while Pliny follows the coast from S. to N., Strabo enumerates
the cities in the opposite direction. Boukoloi thus stands in the place of Dor.

[5] This statement, in view of the rather scanty evidence, is made very
tentatively.

PTOLEMY.

Claudius Ptolemaus, Alexandrian geographer and astronomer, includes Dor within the Φοινίκης θέσις, and reckons its position as follows[1]:

Δωρα	$\overline{\xi}$ς	ά($=\frac{1}{2}$)	λβ	˙γό
"Dor	66°	30'	32°	40' "

This testimony would seem to indicate that Dor was still in existence about the middle of the second century A. D.

CHARAX PERGAMENUS.

Stephan of Byzantium[2] quotes from Book 11 of Charax to the effect that Trypho, when besieged at Dor by Antiochus, fled εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα, τὴν Ἄκην λεγομένην, "to Ptolemais, called Ake"[3]. Müller[4] places Charax under the emperors Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius (i. e., 117–180 A. D.). Charax gives us, however, no information concerning Dor in his own period.

PAUSANIAS.

In the course of his discussion of the ethnic of Dor, Stephan of Byzantium[5] quotes Pausanius as authority for the form Δωριεῖς (from Δωριεύς), as follows:

Παυσανίας δὲ ἐν τῇ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτοῦ κτίσει Δωριεῖς αὐτοὺς καλεῖ τῇδε γράφων "Τύριοι Ἀσκαλωνῖται Δωριεῖς Ῥαφανεῶται," ὥστε παρὰ τὴν Δῶρον τὸ Δώριον εἶναι, οὗ ἂν εἴη τὸ Δωριεύς, ὡς τοῦ Χήσιον τὸ Χησιεύς.

"And Pausanias in his work on his native land calls them Dorieis, writing thus: 'Tyrians, Askalonites, Dorieis, Rhaphanites;' so that beside the feminine Doros there is a neuter form Dorion, whose ethnic would be Dorieus, just as the ethnic of Chesion is Chesieus."

Pausanias was a Greek traveller and author who lived in the latter half of the second Christian century[6]. Examination of his

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[1] *Geog.* V, 15:5 ; ed. Nobbe.   Ptolemy flourished from 127–151 A. D.

[2] S.v. Δῶρος ; also in Müller, *Fragm. hist. graec.* III, 644 n. 40.

[3] See above, p. 68.

[4] *L. c.*, p. 636.

[5] S.v. Δῶρος.

[6] Lippincott on the name; preface to Shilleto's translation.

Περιήγησις[1] fails to reveal the quotation Stephan pretends to give. The Tyrians appear elsewhere but Ascalon occurs only as a town name; of the Rhaphanites[2] there is no mention. The Dorieis frequently referred to by Stephan are not the inhabitants of Dor, but the Greek Dorians. It is quite possible that Stephan here quotes from memory, and with results most disastrous to his argument.

THE CLEMENTINE RECOGNITIONS.

In the pseudo-Clementine Recognitions Dor is referred to as a "breve oppidum." This theological "Tendenz-Romance" represents Peter and his party on their way from Caesarea to Tripolis as stopping overnight in an inn at Dor. On the morrow they continue on their way as far as Ptolemais. The Latin translation of Rufinus of Aquileia (d. 410 A.D.) reads as follows[3] (Book IV: 1):

Profecti a Caesarea ut Tripolim pergeremus, apud Doram breve oppidum primam fecimus mansionem, quia nec longe aberat. Et omnes paene qui per sermonem Petri crediderant, divelli ab eo satis aegre habebant, sed pariter incedentes, dum iterum videre, iterum complecti iuvat, iterum conferre sermonem, ad diversorium prevenimus, sequenti vero die venimus Ptolomaidem.

The Recognitions are probably to be dated at the earliest in the first half of the third century A.D.[4]. Their older sources go back at least to the end of the second century A.D. Thus we have here the statement that about the year 200 (later or earlier) Dor was known to the writer of the Clementine Recognitions as a small town.

EUSEBIUS AND JEROME.

Eusebius (c. 275–c. 340) includes Dor in his Onomasticon[5] under the two forms Δὼρ τοῦ Ναφὰθ and Ναφεθδώρ, as follows: (*O. S.* 250:56)

Δὼρ τοῦ Ναφάθ. αὕτη ἐστὶ τῆς παραλίας Δῶρα ἡ πρὸς Καισαρείαν τῆς Παλαιστίνης. ἥν οὐκ ἔλαβεν ἡ φυλὴ Μανασσῆ, ὅτι μὴ ἀνεῖλεν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ἀλλοφύλους. (*Ios.* 11:2; 17:11, 12.)

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[1] Ed. Hitzig & Bluemmer; trans. by Frazer.

[2] Inasmuch as the other cities quoted are on the coast, Raphia is probably here meant, not Raphana of the Decapolis.

[3] Ed. Gersdorf, pp. 114 f.

[4] Uhlhorn in Hauck-Herzog, *Real-Enckl.*, art. Clementinen; T. Smith in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VIII, p. 74.

[5] *Onomastica Sacra*, ed. Lagarde (2) 1887.

"Dor of Naphath: This is Dor of the sea-coast, adjacent to Caesarea Palestina; which the tribe of Manasseh did not take, because they failed to destroy the Gentiles in it."

(*O. S.* 283:3) Ναφεθδώρ. Σ. ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ Δῶρα. αὕτη ἐστὶν ἀπὸ θ σημείων Καισαρείας. (*Ios.* 11:2.)

"Napheth-dor: Symmachus (translates): 'Dor on the sea-coast'. This is nine miles distant from Caesarea."

Under the name Μαγδιήλ[1] Eusebius (and after him Jerome) refers to the town under its shorter name; i. e., taking it as a neuter plural form, he gives the genitive as Δώρων. From these references to the town, it would appear that Dor was in existence at the time Eusebius wrote[2], i. e., in the early part of the fourth century.

Between this time and the translation of the Onomasticon by Jerome[3] (c. 390)[4], however, Dor seems to have fallen temporarily into ruins[5]. In his free rendering of the passages of Eusebius quoted above, Jerome speaks of Dor as deserted (*O.S.* 115:22): Dor Nafeth, quod Symmachus transtulit Dor maritima (*Ios.* 11:2) haec est Dora in nono miliario Caesareae Palaestinae pergentibus Tyrum, *nunc deserta.* quae cum cecidisset in sortem tribus Manasse, eam possidere non potuit, quia habitatores in illa pristini permanserunt (*Ios.* 17:11, 12). (*O.S.* 142:13): Nefeddor, quod Symmachus interpretatur maritimam (*Ios.* 11:2). Dor autem est oppidum *iam desertum* in nono miliario Caesareae pergentibus Ptolomaidem.

In his Sanctae Paulae peregrinatio[6], Jerome repeats his testimony concerning Dor, as follows: . . . . et per campos Mageddo, Josiae necis conscios intravit terram Philisthiim. Mirata *ruinas Dor*, u rb quondam potentissimae. Paula was a Roman matron who left Rome in 382 and lived in Bethlehem from 384 until her death in 404. On the basis of the statements of Eusebius and Jerome

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[1] *Onomastica Sacra*, ed. Lagarde (2) 1887, 280:40.
[2] See on the Bishops of Dor, pp. 102 ff.
[3] *Hieronymi de situ et nominibus locorum hebraicorum liber.*
[4] Hauck-Herzog, *Encyk.*, s.v. Hieronymus.
[5] The fact that Dor was the seat of a bishopric at a later period indicates that it was restored. It would appear from the conflicting accounts of Dor in the early Christian centuries that the town passed through alternate periods of prosperity and decline.
[6] = *epist. 108 ad. Eustochium* c.VIII in opp. ed. Vallarsii et Maffaeii I, 696. Also in Tobler et Molinier, *Itinera Hierosolymitana et Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae*, I, p. 31.

we are probably justified in inferring that some calamity depopulated Dor sometime after the middle of the fourth century. Later, however, the city must have been reëstablished, for we read of bishops of Dor in the following centuries.

TABULA PEUTINGERIANA.

Dor appears on the Tabula Peutingeriana[1] under the form Thora[2]. The distance from Thora to Cesaria is indicated as VIII miles, from Thora to Ptolomaide as XX miles. The former of these distances is approximately correct, the latter not large enough by several miles[3].

This interesting map of military roads of the western Roman Empire is named after the Augsburg recorder, Konrad Peutinger, who obtained it in 1508 from its discoverer. This particular copy was made in the 13th century; the original in its present form goes back probably to the fourth century A.D.[4].

STEPHAN OF BYZANTIUM.

Stephan of Byzantium[5], the author of a geographical dictionary called "Ethnica," is supposed to have lived in the fifth century[6]. Included in the abridgement of this work now extant is a chapter on Δῶρος, πόλις Φοινίκης ("Dor, a city of Phoenicia"). The chapter mainly consists (in addition to a discussion of the ethnic of the town's name) of quotations from Greek writers. These quotations have been fully treated above[7], so that there is no need for their further discussion here.

While Stephan has preserved in his quotations from the authors he cites valuable bits of information regarding Dor, he leaves us in the dark concerning the Dor of his own day. Like most ancient writers he is not consistently critical in his methods, and his testi-

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[1] Ed. Desjardins (1868), segment IX.

[2] See above, p. 17.

[3] Guérin, *Sam.* 2:314.

[4] Teuffel-Schwabe, *Hist. of Rom. Lit.* (Eng. Trans. 1891-2), II, § 412:6; *Enc. Brit.* s.v. Konrad Peutinger.

[5] Ed. Meineke, 1849, pp. 254 ff.

[6] Lippincott's *Pron. & Biog. Dict.* on the name.

[7] Hecataeus, see p. 62 ; Josephus, pp. 66 ff.; Claudius Iolaus, pp. 94 f.; Artemidorus, p. 63; Apollodorus, p. 63; Alexander Ephesius, p. 64; Charax, p. 97 ; Pausanias, pp. 97 f. ; Craterus, pp. 62 f.

mony must, therefore, be carefully questioned at most points. His quotations are not always strictly accurate[1].

<div align="center">HIEROCLES.</div>

Hierocles, a grammarian, who is supposed to have lived in the sixth century A. D.[2], wrote in Greek a " Handbook for Travellers " (Συνέκδημος), which lists the towns and provinces under the Eastern emperor at Constantinople. Dor is included among the cities in the first of the three divisions of the province of Palestine, as follows[3]:

Ἐπαρχία Παλαιστίνης, ὑπὸ κονσουλάριον, πόλεις κβ':
Καισάρεια μητρόπολις
Δῶρα
Ἀντιπατρίς
Διόσπολις
Ἄζωτος παράλιος
Ἄζωτος μεσόγειος, κτλ.

"The province of Palestine, under a proconsul, 22 cities:
Caesarea, metropolis
Dor
Antipatris
Diospolis
Azotus on the coast
Azotus inland, etc., etc."

In the fifth century the three-fold partition of Palestine (which is here used by Hierocles) into Palestina Prima (or Maritima), Palestina Secunda, and Palestina Tertia (or Salutaris) began to prevail[4]. These divisions were at once political and ecclesiastical, and continued during the time of the Crusades. The first division included the coast region as far as Carmel, with Caesarea as its metropolis or archbishop's see. Dor is, as here, prevailingly named immediately after adjacent Caesarea. These early lists of towns are repeatedly copied by later writers, sometimes with modifications, but apparently without investigation into the question of the contemporary state of the cities[5].

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[1] See on Josephus (pp. 86 f.), and on Pausanias (p. 97 f.).

[2] Lippincott on the name; Burckhardt, *Hieroclis Synecdemus*, p. XIV (before 535 A. D.).

[3] *Hierocles Grammaticus*, ed. Parthey, p. 43; ed. Burckhardt, p. 41.

[4] Socin in *Enc. Bib.*, 3548 f., s.v. Palestine.

[5] See on Georgius Cyprius below.

THE BISHOPS OF DOR.

FIDUS.

Lequien[1] has collected records of five early bishops of Dor. The first of these is Fidus, who belongs in the last quarter of the fifth century. Apparently Dor had been rebuilt since the time of Jerome, when it was in ruins[2]. The references to Fidus, Lequien quotes from the "Vita sancti Euthymii abbatis, apud Cotelerium to. 2 monum. eccl. Graec." This biography of St. Euthymius was written by the monk Cyrillus of Scythopolis[3]. Lequien's quotations of the passages from the life of Euthymius relative to Fidus, and his comments on these quotations follow.

Nam n. 60. p. 249. narrat 'Fidum' Fidi Joppensis episcopi nepotem, Anastasium, qui postea Hierosolymitanus evasit Patriarcha iuxta Euthymii prophetiam, comitatum esse ad eundem Euthymium invisendum euntem: "Quum ergo desiderium videndi hominis (Euthymii) in se aleret, Fido Joppes episcopo, & Cosinae Crucum custodi pulchram illam communicat cupiditatem; atque eos assumens, quin etiam Fidum alterum episcopi Fidi nepotem, (erat autem is adhuc aetate iuvenis, & in chorum lectorum cooptatus; qui etiam Cyriaco monacho haec tradidit & narravit:) cum iis proficiscitur ad magnum Euthymium, etc." Id contigit ante Juvenalis Patriarchae Hierosolymitani obitum, cui successit Anastasius modo memoratus anno 458. qui "Statim (ut refertur ibid. num. 96. pag 20) Fidum, qui ad lauram cum ipso accesserat, audieratque praedictiones (Euthymii,) ordinat diaconum, & rursus ad magnum (Euthymium) mittit una cum custode crucis; tum prophetiae significans eventum. tum rogans sibi permitti ad eum pergere, etc." Num. 110. adfuit praesens Euthymii funeribus an. 473. die 20. Januar. defuncti. "Fama celeriter (mortis Euthymii) per omnem finitimam regionem sparsa," inquit Cyrillus ibid. pag. 294. "monachorum & laicorum multitudo vix numerabilis congregata est: quin etiam Anastasius Hierosolymorum Patriarcha, assumto secum clericorum simul & militum examine, accessit.

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[1] *Oriens Christianus* (Paris 1740) III, pp. 574-9.

[2] See above, p. 99.

[3] *Oriens Christ.* III, p. 575.

Aderat quoque Chrysippus, unaque Gabrielius, sed & diaconus
Fidus . . . . cunctos autem in stuporem adducebat continuatio
miraculorum." Et pag. seq. 295. "Fidum autem diaconum
(Patriarcha) in laura relinquens, ei aedificandi (sepulcri Euthymii)
committit negotium. . . . . quo beatae illae Euthymii reliquiae in
apto & convenienti loco deponerentur." Et num. 112. p. 296.
"At diaconus Fidus, multa operarum manus collecta magnoque
adhibito studio, speluncam quae in principio tenuit quiete agentem
Euthymium, aedem pulcherrimam & maximam efficit, etc." Mortuo
Anastasio anno Christo 478. Martyrius eius successor, ad "Imper-
atorem Zenonem & Acacium Constantinopolitanum episcopum
scribit de Aposchistis," ibid num. 113 pag. 298 . . . . "atque
Fido diacono litteris traditis, non pauca viro ore etiam dicenda
mandat." Verum quum navigium ascendisset Fidus, certo nau-
fragio ereptus fuit ab Euthymio quem invocaverat, quiqui illi
apparens, dixit, n. 114 p. 299. "Noli timere: Ego sum Euthymius
servus Dei: scias autem tibi bonum non esse hoc iter conspectu
Dei; nullam enim afferet utilitatem matri ecclesiarum. Quapropter
oportet te reverti ad eum qui te misit, eique meo nomine denun-
ciare, ne sit ullatenus sollicitus de disiunctione Aposchistarum:
non enim diu abhinc, sed sub eius Pontificatu erit unio, & omnes
Hierosolymitani fient unus grex atque sub uno Pastore." (Verita-
tem visionis firmavit vaticinii eventus, de quo vide supra col 176.)
"Te autem oportet venire ad meam lauram; & fratrum quidem
cellas (dispersas nempe) diruere ab ipsis fundamentis, coenobium
vero readificare illic, ubi meum aedificasti caemeterium. Locum
enim Deo placet non lauram esse, sed potius caenobium etc." Et
num. 116. pag. 301. "Transiens postea ad Patriarcham, ei omnia
renunciavit Fidus. Et ille vehementer admiratus narrationem
opinione maiorem; profecto, inquit, Dei propheta est magnus
Euthymius . . . . quae enim ad lauram spectant, ea coram nobis
omnibus praedixit, iam in Christo per mortem consummandus. His
dictis, ipse etiam Fido committit coenobii aedificationem, con-
ceditque ei ut illo proficiscatur, simul professos se quoque omnibus
viribus apus una esse aggressurum." Et num. 117. "Fidus
itaque, accepta magna manu ministrorum & structorum, cum uno
ex mechanicis seu architectis, descendit in lauram: quumque
aedificasset coenobium, septoque & muro in orbem esset complexus,
vetus quidem templum attribuit fratribus ad caenaculum, aliud
autem templum aedificat superius. Intra coenobium vero splendide

excitat turrim velut quoddam totius eremi propugnaculum, & in
medio caemeterio collocat etc." Et n. 119. "Quum itaque
huiusmodi totum caenobii aedificium simul & ornamentum non
opus habuisset plus quam tribus annis ob multas manus intensum-
que ministerium, volebant quidem divini illi Patres, cum alio
ornatu & artificio dedicationem etiam ecclesiae tribuere; eos autem
arcebat rursus aquae penuria: nam in illa solitudine pluit tantum
hyeme . . . . Itaque Helias praepositus, & diaconus Fidus sig-
nificant Longino inferioris monasterii praefecto, & paulo praeposito
monasterii Martyrii, ut per iumenta eos adiuvent ad aquam ex
Pharis ἀπὸ Φαρῶν transferendam." Num. 120. pag. 504. "Sequenti
ergo nocte, paratis iis circa diluculum ad iter, iamque congregatis
iumentis, apparet nocte illa beato Heliae magnus Euthymius: Quid
hoc sibi vult, rogans, quod hodie iumenta congregetis? Quum is
vero respondisset; ut aquam ex Pharis afferamus, eo quod nos
nunc omnino defecerit; increpavit ille, dicens: Modicae fidei
homines, quanam de causa Deum non precati estis? Num is qui
e praerupta petra inobedientem potavit populum, & aquam ex asini
maxilla Samsoni aliquando fecit scaturire, non poterit vobis quoque
ad usum suppeditare, dummodo cum fide offeratis petitionem?
Deinde eis etiam prohibuit iter ad Pharas ἐπὶ Φαρὰς ut minime
necessarium. Aqua enim vobis implebuntur, inquit, vel maximae
cisternae, ne tribus quidem horis expectatis." Et n. 121. "Exci-
tatus è somno ad visionem beatus Helias, statimque ea Fido &
reliquis annunciata, iumenta à proposito solvit ministerio: quum
non autem iam transisset, & sol omnem quantam videt terram
radiorum illustraret iaculis; nubes alicunde aërem subito complexa
caenobio incumbentem, erupit protinus in pluviam, & omnia qui-
dem circumcirca simile adhuc puniebat flagellum siccitatis; ii
autem soli qui erant in caenobio, aqua praeter opinionem frueban-
tur: perinde ac si aliquis pluviam circumscripsisset, rursusque non
sineret ulterius progredi. Postquam autem cisternae fuerunt aqua
plenae, nec ii amplius indigebant imbribus è caelo, statim nubes
dissipata est, & vehemens imbrium procella ad serenitatem iterum
redacta fuit." Et num. 122. pag. 305. "Quum vero miraculum
brevi totam pervasisset solitudinem, atque ad ipsum etiam arch-
iepiscopum Martyrium iam pervenisset, descendens ille cum multa
rerum affluentia ad coenobium, praeclaram agit synaxim & vigiliam
cum multis lampadibus & suffitibus καὶ θυμιάμασι; sed & splendidam
magnificamque facit dedicationem: Deponem sub altari quasdam
partes reliquiarum martyrum Tarochi, Probi & Andronici, septimo

mensis Maii, anno iam duodecimo post Euthymii mortem (proindeque Christi 484). Quum aliquod autem tempus transiisset, diaconus quoque Fidus accipit episcopatum civitatis quae vocatur Dora:" Proindeque ordinatus est Fidus iste, vel sub finem anni 484 vel anno seq. 485. Quid in praesulatu egerit, & quonam obierit anno nos latet. Constat solum exeunte anno 518, eum non fuisse amplius superstitem.

<div align="center">BAROCHIUS.</div>

The second Bishop of Dor of whom we have any record is Barochius[1], who was present at the council of Jerusalem in 518[2]. This council convened under Patriarch John of Jerusalem in order to ratify the decisions of the Council of Constantinople held earlier in the same year under Patriarch John of Constantinople[3]. The two councils were in decided agreement. Among the thirty-three bishops assembled at Jerusalem was Barochius. His name appears with the other signatures attached to the decree of assent issued by the Jerusalem Patriarch[4]: Βαρώχιος ἐπίσκοπος Δώρων ἐρρῶσθαι με, καὶ τὰ λοιπά. Barochius[5], episcopus Dororum, valere me, & reliqua. From the first signature to this document (viz., that of the Patriarch John of Jerusalem) we learn that καὶ τὰ λοιπά represents: καὶ τῷ κυρίῳ εὐαρεστεῖν εὔχεσθε δεσπόται ἅγιοι, καὶ θεοφιλέστατοι, καὶ ὁσιώτατοι πατέρες. Latin: & domino beneplacere orate, domini sancti, ac Deo amantissimi & sanctissimi patres.

In the year 518, therefore, Barochius was at the head of the bishopric of Dor. Further information concerning him we have none[6].

<div align="center">JOHN.</div>

A third Bishop of Dor was among those who, in September, 536, were present at a council held in Jerusalem under the Patriarch

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[1] Variant form in the Latin, "Marochius" (Harduin, *Acta Conciliorum* II, p. 1346; Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio,* VIII, p. 1073). Guérin (*Sam.* 2:313) writes "Baronius." He also calls him the first Bishop of Dor.

[2] Lequien III, pp. 578 f.

[3] Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte* II, pp. 688 ff.

[4] Mansi VIII, pp. 1073 f., Harduin, II, pp. 1345 f. This decree is recorded in Harduin among the acts of a later Constantinople Council, held in 536 under Mennas (Hefele *l.c.*; Noris, *Annus et Epochae,* p. 457).

[5] See note 1, above.

[6] Lequien, *l.c.*

Peter. Ἰωάννης ἐπίσκοπος Δοάρων ("John, Bishop of Dor") appears among the signers of the decree (directed against Anthimus and other opponents of the Council of Chalcedon), which was promulgated by the Jerusalem council[1]. The fact that at the Constantinople Council held in the same year (May and June 536), John, Bishop of Zoar, was present[2], might seem to indicate that Ζοάρων should be read for Δοάρων. But the reading with Δ is the one here attested[3]; and it is hardly probable that Dor was without representation at the Jerusalem Council[4]. In itself there is nothing improbable in the conclusion that the bishops of Dor and Zoar in the year 536 were both named John.

STEPHAN.

On the eighth of October, 649, Stephan, Bishop of Dor, was introduced to the Constantinople Council of that year, over which Pope Martin presided[5]. From the communication read to this Council by Stephan we learn that this was his third appearance before the Pope at Rome. He had been sent the first time by Sophronius I, Patriarch of Jerusalem (who succeeded Modestus, c. 634[6]) to accuse Sergius of Joppa and other Bishops of monothelitism. Pope Theodore (as we learn from Stephan's letter just mentioned) appointed Stephan his representative in Palestine to convert to orthodoxy or else to depose the heretic bishops appointed by Sergius[7]. Some of these bishops recanted and were duly confirmed in their offices by Pope Martin.

Stephan is introduced[8] by a "Theophylactus notarius" to the Constantinople Council of 649 (Secretarius II) as ὁ ὁσιώτατος ἐπίσκοπος Δώρων πρῶτος ὑπάρχων τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερατικῆς δικαιοδοσίας. "The most reverend Bishop of Dor, who is first of the church council in Jerusalem." In the introduction and conclusion of the

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[1] Lequien, III, p. 579 ; Harduin, II, p. 1418.

[2] Lequien, *l. c.*; Harduin, II, p. 1402.

[3] Although the Latin in Harduin reads " Posdonus."

[4] Cp. the Jerusalem Council in 518 just discussed, at which Barochius of Dor was present.

[5] Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, III, pp. 216 f.; Noris, *Annus et Epochae*, pp. 457 ff.; Lequien, III, pp. 579 f.

[6] Lequien, *l. c.*

[7] Hefele, III, pp. 209 f.

[8] Mansi X, pp. 891 f. ; Harduin, III, pp. 709 ff.

letter he reads[1], Stephan refers to himself in almost exactly the same words. Among the signatures under Secretarius I of this same council[2] appears in Latin the name : Stephano Dorensi episc. In the Greek of both Mansi and Harduin, however, the name does not appear.

The address of Stephan to the Council[3] proves him to be a man zealous for the orthodox faith, in defence of which he has incurred the bitter hate of his opponents. He points out that Christ must possess both a divine and a human will if he is at once true God and true man. Any other teaching is opposed to that of the Council of Chalcedon. No innovations must be permitted to stain the faith. Stephan and those in the East renew the request of Sophronius that the Council reject and destroy these false teachings which are again being spread abroad by Theodore of Pharan, Cyrus, and by Sergius of Joppa and his followers.

In a letter to John, Bishop of Philadelphia[4], Pope Martin says that John had been strongly recommended to him by Stephan of Dor and the eastern monks. He therefore appoints John as his vicar in the East, with the task of restoring order and appointing in the patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem bishops, priests and deacons. Bishop Stephan, to whom this commission had originally been given, had been hindered by others[5] from executing it.

Pope Martin wrote to a certain Pantaleon[6] in reply to his criticism of Stephan of Dor. The Pope laments the circumstance that, while Stephan had been given full authority to depose certain bishops and priests, the documents authorizing him to appoint others to fill their places had been kept from him. In this way the clergy in those districts had become insufficient for the needs. The Pope has now appointed a new vicar and instructed him whom he may or may not appoint. This new vicar is evidently John, Bishop of Philadelphia, to whom reference has just been made. How

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[1] Mansi X, pp. 891 E., 901 B ; Harduin, III, pp. 709 ff., 720.

[2] Mansi X, p. 867.

[3] Hefele, III, pp. 216 f.

[4] Mansi X, pp. 806 ff. ; Harduin, III, p. 639 ; Hefele, III, p. 230.

[5] Cp. Letter to Pantaleon following.

[6] Mansi X, p. 821 A ; Harduin, III, p. 652 ; Noris, *Annus etc.* p. 455 ; Hefele, III, p. 231.—Nothing further is known about Pantaleon. The letter was probably written shortly after 649 (cp. Mansi).

many years after 649 Stephanus continued his work we do not know[1].

ZACHARIUS.

From the works of St. John of Damascus (died between 963–969 A. D.) Lequien quotes[2] the title of a letter from Peter Mansur to Zacharius, bishop of Dor (written Δοάρων)[3]. Inasmuch as we know nothing further about either the sender or the receiver of this letter, it is not possible to determine its date. It would seem, however, that we have had preserved for us here a copy of a letter sent to one of the bishops of Dor, perhaps from the sixth or seventh century. Lequien's statement is as follows:

Extat inter opera S. Joannis Damasceni novae editionis Paris. 1712. to I, p. 655 A. 'epistola sanctissimi Petri Mansur ad Zachariam episcopum Doarum Δοάρων, de corpore & sanguine Christi.' Pro Δοάρων autem legendum arbitror Δώρων Dororum. Auctor enim huius epistolae, qui non fuit ipse sanctus Joannes Damascenus, cuius nec doctrinam refert, videtur commoratus in Palestina, quippe qui pag. 655 A. quaedam verba recitat ex liturgia sancti Jacobi seu Hierosolymitana. Quum vero non constet quandonam vixerit Petrus ille, pariter etiam huius Zachariae aevum definiri accuratè non potest. Eius porro hic meminimus, ex hopothesi quod reipsa fuerit, aliquo tempore, Dororum in Palestina episcopus, Zacharias nuncupatus.

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[1] Lequien, III, p. 580.

[2] *Oriens Christianus*, III, p. 580; *Opera Joannis Damasceni Monachi et Presbyteri Hierosolymitani* (Venetiis, 1748).

[3] Cp. Bishop John, p. 105.

LATER GEOGRAPHERS.

ISIDOR OF SEVILLE.

In his work Originum sive Etymologiarum Libri XX, Isidor of Seville[1] refers to Dor in the following terms (Bk. XV, ch. 1): Dor urbs fuit quondam potentissima, et versa vice Stratonis turris, postea ab Herode, rege Iudaeae, in honorem Caesaris Augusti Caesarea nuncupata. In qua Cornelii domum Christi vidit[2] ecclesia[3], et Philippi aediculas, et cubiculum quatuor virginum prophetarum.

Isidorus Hispalensis lived from 565 to 636 A. D., becoming bishop of Seville in 600. The work from which the passage above is quoted is a compilation of various sources. Among these sources[4] are included Orosius, Jerome's Onomasticon, Solinus, Servius on Vergil, Josephus' Antiquities and Suetonius. His work has not, therefore, the value of an original source.

How little his knowledge of geography really was is indicated by Isidor's evident confusion (in the passage quoted) of Dor and Caesarea. In some way his sources seem to have given him the idea that Dor was but another name for Strato's Tower; possibly on a map the names were written confusedly[5]. The mention of bishops of Dor contemporary with Isidor[6] clearly proves that the city was in existence in his day.

GEOGRAPHUS RAVENNAS.

From the seventh century there has come down to us the work of an anonymous writer on geography, who is referred to as Geographus Ravennas. His main source appears to be the Tabula Peutingeriana; in addition he used several Greek writers as sources[7].

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[1] Ed. F. V. Otto, p. 462. (=Tom III Corpus Gram. Lat. Vet.)

[2] Var., "videt", "est".

[3] Var. "ecclesiam".

[4] K. Miller, Mappae Mundi, VI, p. 59.

[5] K. Miller (Mappae Mundi, VI, Map 2) has tentatively reconstructed a map on the basis of the work of Isidor. On this map "dor Cesarea" appears between Tyrus and Joppe.—There are several T-shaped sketch maps preserved in MSS. of this writer.

[6] See chapter on "Bishops of Dor".

[7] Miller, Mappae Mundi, VI, p. 34.

As a result of this process of compilation repetitions occur. For example, in Book II, chap. 15, Phoenice is included in Syria; while in chap. 16 of the same Book II, Fenitia appears as a province of Asia Minor[1].

In Book II, chap. 15 of this work[2], Dora is included among the maritime cities (Phoenician) as follows: Item ad aliam partem iuxta mare sunt civitates, id est Biblon, Birithon, Sidone, Tyrone, Edippa, Ptolemaida, Dora.

Again in Book V, chap. 7[3], Dora is mentioned with "totas civitates circa litora totius maris magni positas[4]," as follows: Iterum civitas . . . . Ioppe, Apollonia, Caesarea Palaestinae, Dora, Ptolomaida, Ecdilpa, Tyros[5].

This reference to Dor by Ravennas adds nothing to our information about the city.

GUIDO.

In the year 1119 a certain Guido, concerning whose identity nothing definite is known, wrote a sort of universal history in six books. As a basis for his work he used the writings of the anonymous Geographus Ravennas, in such manner that his "Geographica" is little more than a recension of the earlier work[6]. From this compilation by Guido, we quote the following[7]: Si subtilius scire voluerit totas circumquaque parte per litora maris positas etc. . . . . Ioppe, Apollonia, Cesarea Phalestinae, Dora, Ptolomaida, Ecdilpa, Tyrus Sidonia. . . . .

No contribution to our knowledge of Dor is made by this late compilation of earlier materials.

THE PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM.

There has been preserved part of a French Provincial (= list of bishoprics, etc.) dating from c. 1180 A.D., which names Dor first

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[1] Miller, *l. c.*

[2] *Ravennatis anonymi Cosmographia et Guidonis Geographica*, ed. Pinder et Parthey, p. 89.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 357.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 325. Here in the opposite order.

[5] See Miller, *Mappae Mundi*, VI, p. 30 for partial reconstructed map of Ravennas exhibiting Dora.

[6] Miller, *Mappae Mundi*, III. p. 54; VI, p. 7.

[7] *Ravennatis anon. Cosmographia et Guidonis Geographica*, ed. Pinder et Parthey, pp. 504, 524.

among the sees under Caesarea. It reads in part as follows[1]:
(Patriarcat De Jérusalem).

En Palestine, li premiers sieges: Cesaire Maritime que Herodes
redesia, soz laquele sunt XIX sieges d'eveschié: Dore, Antipa-
trida, Jamnias, Assur, Nicople, Omis, Sorti Kayfas, Ierico,
Apotas, Paumeroie, Cipon, Escomason, Essulion, Touxe, Le Sault,
Constantine.

This list is extremely corrupt[2], and goes back to early Greek and
Latin lists as its sources[3]. It cannot therefore be used as an argu-
ment for the continued existence of Dor down to the end of the
twelfth century.

GEORGIUS CYPRIUS.

George of Cyprus[4] became patriarch of Constantinople in 1283
and abdicated in 1289. He wrote, evidently on the basis of older
documents, a "Descriptio orbis romani." In this work he repro-
duces[5] the early churchly division of Palestine in A., B. and C.,
naming Dor[6] as first of the sees under the metropolis Caesarea:

Ἐπαρχία Παλαιστίνης Ᾱ.

Αἰλία Ἱεροσολύμων Ἁγία Πόλις.

Καισάρεια μητρόπολις.

Δῶρα.

Ἀντιπατρίς.

Διόσπολις ἤτοι Γεωργιούπολις.

Ἰάμνια.

Νικόπολις.

Ὄνους.

Σῴζουσα.

Ἰόππη.

Ἀσκαλών.

Γάζα.

Ῥαφία.

Ἀνθηδών.

Διοκλητιανούπολις.

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[1] Michelant et Reynaud, *Itinéraires à Jerusalem* etc., p. 12.
[2] Cp. list of Georgius Cyprius following.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. XII.
[4] Lippincott's *Pron. & Biog. Dict.*, s.v.
[5] *Georgius Cyprius*, ed. Gelzer, No. 1000.
[6] Cp. the "Patriarchate of Jerusalem" preceding.

Ἐλευθερόπολις.

Νεαπόλις.

Σεβαστή.

Ῥεγεὼν Ἀπάθους.

Ῥεγεὼν Ἱεριχώ.

Ρεγεὼν Λιβίας.

Ῥεγεὼν Γάδαρα.

Ἄζωτος Πάραλος.

Αζωτος ἡ Ἵππινος.

Ἐυκωμάζων.

Βιττύλιος.

Τρικωμίας.

Τόξος.

Σάλτων Κωνσταντιανικῆς.

Σάλτων Γεραϊτικὸς.

ἤτοι βαρσάμων.

　　" Eparchy Palestine A.

Aelia[1] Jerusalem, the Holy City.

Caesarea Metropolis.

Dor,

Antipatris, etc., etc."

Dor's place in these lists seems to be regularly after that of Caesarea. It would seem that the version of Georgius Cyprius has suffered less corruption of text than that of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem above.

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[1] So named after Publius Aelius Hadrianus (Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon* s.v.).

THE PERIOD OF THE CRUSADES.

In connection with the First Crusade (1095–1099) mention of Dor is made by several historians. Foucher de Chartres[1], who himself took part in the events he is narrating, traces the route taken in 1099 by the French along the coast on their journey to Jerusalem. After a futile attempt to capture Archas, a city near the Lebanons, the army was proceeding down the coast. Regarding the march from Acre to Caesarea Foucher writes as follows:

Accon vero, id est Ptholomaida, ab Austro habet Carmeli montem. Iuxta quam transeuntes ad dexteram reliquerunt oppidum Caypham[2] dictum, post haec iuxta Doram[3], exin, iuxta Caesaream Palaestinae incessimus, quae quidem antiquitus dicta est altero nomine Turris Stratonis, in qua Herodes . . . . exspiravit infeliciter.

The anonymous author of the Gesta Francorum Iherusalem Expugnantium, writing before 1109 (who himself declares that his work is an abridgment of that by Foucher de Chartres), records this same march down the coast[4]:

Transeuntes autem Achilon[5], invenerunt oppidum Caypha dictum, quod est sub Carmelo monte, et habet mare ob Oriente, montem vero ab Occidente. Dehinc Caesaream Palaestinae adorsi sunt, quae quidem Dor[6] antiquitus, a quibusdam vero Turris Stratonis nuncupata est, in qua Herodes . . . . infeliciter exspiravit.

This account adds nothing to the information given by Foucher de Chartres. It is suggestive, however, in that the carelessness with which the author handles his source warns us against expecting any great amount of accuracy in Crusading historians.

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[1] *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux* III, pp. XXVII, 354; *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. Bongars, I, p. 396.

[2] I.e., Haifa.

[3] One MSS. (F in the Bibliotheque de l'Arsenal, Paris) and ed. Bongars add: "vel Pirgul." This is doubtless a corruption of πύργος (see Guérin, *Sam.* II, p. 314), and refers probably to Caesarea, whose ancient name was πύργος Στράτωνος (= Turris Stratonis).

[4] *Recueil, Hist. Occident.*, III, pp. XXXVI, 508.

[5] I.e., Acre (or Accho or Accon).

[6] This is, of course, an error on the part of the writer. Possibly he is following Isidor of Spain, who makes the same mistake (see above, p. 109).

In still another record of this march mention is made of Dor. This is the anonymous history of the First Crusade (with a continuation to 1123) written in 1146-47 by order of Baldwin III of Jerusalem, and known as Balduini III Historia Nicaena vel Antiochena[1]. Beginning with the abandonment of the siege of Archas, this account reads:

Mox obsidionem solventes, praetergressi sunt urbem Tripolim deinde urbem Beritum, post haec Sydonem, quae ab incolis Sagitta dicitur, exinde Sareptam Sydoniae, dehinc Tyrum, quam Sur nominant (Hebraice enim Soor dicitur), inde Ptolemaidam, prius Accon dictam, deinde oppidum Chaypha, exhinc Doram, post haec Caesaream Palaestinae, quae altero nomine Turris Stratonis dicitur.

Like the accounts already given, this gives us no definite information about the town of Dor.

Covering in part this same period is the work, Benedicti De Accoltis Historia Gotefridi[2], written between the years 1464 and 1466. In the midst of his description of the advance toward Jerusalem, this late historian digresses in order to explain the location of the principal cities of Judea:

Duo in ea nobiles portus Lannetorum et Gazeon imprimis fuerunt, et infrascriptae urbes maritimae, quae praecipuae habebantur: Stratonis (Pyrgus), Caesarea, Appollonia, Azotus, Joppe, Aschalon, Gaza, Dora et Antedon.

After mentioning other Judean and the Samaritan and Galilean cities, he continues:

Sed ex his non paucae urbibus desertae aut disiectae fuerant, quum Christiani Judaeam armis repetiverunt, plurimae quoque vetus nomen prorsus amiserant.

Casual reference to Dor is made by William of Tyre (Book X, Cap. XXVI)[3] in connection with the wounding of King Baldwin I in the year 1103 on his return along the coast after the abandonment of the siege of Ptolemais:

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[1] *Recueil, Hist. Occident.,* V, pp. XXXI, 174 E.

[2] *Ibid,,* pp. CXXXV, 599 C.   Practically his only source was the work of William of Tyre.

[3] *Ibid.* I, Part I, p. 440.

Volensque per Caesaream redire, accidit quod in loco, qui dicitur Petra Incisa[1], iuxta antiquam Tyrum[2], inter Capharnaum[3] et Doram, oppida maritima, qui locus hodie Districtum[4] appellatur, praedones et viarum publicarum effractores invenit. Etc. etc.

This same writer again makes incidental reference to Dor in his account of the fruitless siege of Tyre in the year 1111, as follows[5]:

Est autem Tyrus civitas in corde maris sita, in modum insulae circumsepta pelago, caput et metropolis provinciae Phoenicis, quae a rivo Valeniensi, usque ad Petram Incisam, Dorae conterminam[6], protenditur ; infra sui ambitum, urbes suffraganeas continens quatuordecim.

In none of these instances cited is mention made of any settlement or fortress at Dor. Nothing is said concerning the town that could not be gathered from ancient literary sources. Benedict's statement[7] above to the effect that some of the towns he mentions were deserted or destroyed was quite probably true of Dor at this time. If a town named Dor had existed at this period we should certainly have expected some reference to the name in the account of Richard's march down the coast in 1191[8]. Apparently these historians of the Crusades knew of the existence and location of Dor, not from personal observation or through the accounts of those who had visited the place, but from ancient Biblical and geographical notices. We are, accordingly, uninformed regarding the real status of Dor at this time.

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[1] According to Conder (P.E.F., *Spec. Pap.*, p. 275), "The old name for Khirbet Dustrey, the outlying fort of 'Athlīt, is Petra Incisa (The Scarped Rock)." The name is probably derived from the passage through the rocky ridge near 'Athlīt.—See also the notes on geography in *Recueil, Hist. Occident.*, I, Part I, p. XXVI.

[2] Also known as St. John of Tyre : Michelant et Raynaud, *Itinéraires Francais*, pp. 229 (Pelrinages et Pardouns de Acre), 901 (Les Pelerinaiges por aler en Iherusalem).

[3] See below, pp. 117 f.

[4] *Recueil, l. c.*

[5] *Recueil, Hist. Occident.*, I, Part I, p. 482.

[6] Probably nearer 'Athlīt than Dor. There are a number of these passages through the ridge between Dor and 'Athlīt.

[7] P. 114.

[8] See below, pp. 116 ff.

At the end of the work by William of Tyre[1] there appears (very likely added by another hand) a list of the cities subject to the principality of Jerusalem. As in the earlier lists[2], Dor appears first among the cities under the archbishopric of Caesarea :

I Sedes Prima, Caesarea Maritima. Sub hac sede sunt episcopatus XIX

Dora

Antipatrida

Iamnias

Nicopolis, etc., etc.

This bare mention of the name "Dora" does not indicate that the city flourished at the time. Here, too, old lists doubtless formed the basis of the enumeration.

At the time of the Third Crusade (1189–1192), Richard marched along the coast with his army. After the capture of Acre (Summer 1191), he started toward Joppa. The route taken and the difficulties of the march are thus described by Geoffrey de Vinsauf[3]:

". . . . On a Wednesday, which was the third day after stopping at Cayphas (= Haifa), the army moved forward in order, the Templars leading the van, and the Hospitallers closing the rear, both of whom by their high bearing gave evidence of great valour. That day the army moved forward with more than wonted caution, and stopped after a long march, impeded by the thickets and the tall and luxuriant herbage, which struck them in the face, especially the foot soldiers. . . . . When the king had proceeded as far as Capernaum, which the Saracens had razed to the ground, he dismounted and took some food, the army, meanwhile, waiting; those who chose took food, and immediately after proceeded on their march to the house called 'of the narrow ways,'[4] because the road there becomes narrow; there they halted and pitched their tents. . . . . The army remained two days at the abovementioned station, where there was plenty of room for their camp, and waited there

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[1] *Recueil, Hist. Occident.,* I, Part II, p. 1136.

[2] See pp. 101, 110 f.

[3] *Itinerarium Ricardi* (ed. T. Gale), IV, 12 ff.—English translation by H. G. Bohn, *Itinerary of Richard 1,* Bk. IV, §§ 12–14.

[4] Or, "Casal of the Narrow Ways." ("Casam dictam angustarum viarum," in ed. T. Gale).

until the ships arrived which they were expecting ; namely, barges
and galleys, laden with provisions, of which they were in need; for
these vessels were sailing in connection with the army along the
shore, and carried their provisions on board. The army advanced,
using all precaution against the Turks, who kept on their flank, to
a town called Merla[1], where the king had spent one of the previous
nights; there he had determined that he would lead the van himself
the next day, on account of the obstacles in the way and because
the Templars kept guard in the rear; for the Turks continually
threatened them in a body on the flank . . . . The army, after
accomplishing its march with great difficulty, arrived that day at
Caesarea[2]."

The Capernaum mentioned above is strangely supposed by
Conder[3] to be ancient Dor. He cites as authority for this identi-
fication Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, who travelled southward along
the coast to Caesarea between 1166 and 1171. The passage in
Benjamin reads[4]:

ומשם ארבע פרסאות לכפר נאום והוא כפר דנחום והוא מעון
מקום נבל הכרמלי: ומשם ששה פרסאות לשיזיראה הוא גת
אשר לפלשתים ·

" From there (i.e., Haifa), it is four parasangs to Capernaum,
which is the village of Nahum, identical with Maon, the place of
Nabal the Carmelite[5]. And from there it is six parasangs to
Caesarea, which is Gath of the Philistines."

Conder mistakenly understands the passage to indicate that the
distance from *Haifa* (instead of from Capernaum!) to Caesarea
is six parasangs. He therefore argues that the proportional dis-
tances of four and six parasangs from Haifa to Capernaum and
Caesarea respectively, point to the identification of Capernaum
with ancient Dor. Capernaum is more probably to be placed at

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[1] Ed. T. Gale : "ad oppidum Mirlam dictum." According to Dr. Stubbs,
this was on Aug. 30, 1191.

[2] The main body passed the night at the Crocodile River (Nahr el-Zerka),
north of Caesarea.

[3] P.E.F., *Special Papers*, p. 275.

[4] M. N. Adler, *Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, pp. לא f.

[5] Maon is, of course, contiguous to another Carmel situated in Judah (1
Sam. 25 : 2 ff.). Benjamin simply cites the faulty identification current in
this region. So also in the case of Gath.

Al-Kunaisah[1] (the Little Church), a mound a few miles north of
'Athlīt[2]. This would fit the proportional distance given by Ben-
jamin. William of Tyre[3] makes a clear distinction between the
maritime cities of Capernaum and Dor. Conder's identification of
the two is in any case absurd[4].

The " house of the narrow ways"[5] is probably near 'Athlīt[6]. The
name arose from the rock-cut passages through the coast ridge; of
these there are several between 'Athlīt and Dor[7]. The harbor at
'Athlīt would have made possible the landing of provisions. This
identification is to be preferred to that of Conder, who wishes to
identify the Casal (as well as Capernaum) with Dor. It is hardly
probable that the heavily armored soldiers would have attempted
to make the march of twenty miles to Dor in one day; more likely
they encamped at 'Athlīt.

Concerning the location of the next place mentioned, viz. Merla
(or Mirla or Merle), there is considerable doubt. If our identifica-
tions thus far have been correct, it must lie somewhere between
'Athlīt and Caesarea, the town next in order. The narrative here
does not make clear whether it was on the coast or inland on the
main road. Elsewhere, a Merle is spoken of as a fortress belong-
ing to the Templars[8]. Among the fortresses of Palestine captured
by Saladin after his defeat of King Guy, July 6, 1187, are included
Castellum Merle Templi and Castellum de Planis[9]. Bohaeddin in
his account of this march along the coast[10] gives the name as El-

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[1] Or, Tell Kanīsah. See especially DeGoeje's note in his edition of Moḳad-
dasī, *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.* III, p. 192, note *m*.

[2] Guy le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems,* p. 477; Adler, *op. cit.*, pp. 31,
32; *Recueil, Hist. Occident.*, I, Part I, p. LIV.

[3] Above, p. 115: "inter Capharnaum et Doram, oppida maritima."

[4] T. A. Archer, *Crusade of Richard I,* p. 376 (note F.).

[5] P. 116.

[6] Archer, *l.c.; Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* (Rolls Series) p. 255: *Recueil,
Hist. Occident.*, I, Part I, pp. XXVI, LIV.

[7] Conder, P.E.F., *Spec. Papers,* p. 275: above p. 13.

[8] W. Stubbs, *Hist. Introd. to the Rolls Series* (ed. Hassell), p. 329.—In
the Pelrinages et Pardouns de Acre of the 13th or 14th cent. (Michelant et
Reynaud, *Itinéraires à Jèrusalem,* p. 229), it is stated of "Chastiel Pelryn:"
"e de près est Merle."

[9] *Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I,* by Benedict of
Peterborough (Rolls Series), II, p. 23.

[10] *Recueil, Hist. Orient.*, III, pp. 246, 248: *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* (Rolls
Series), p. 255; Wilken, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge,* IV, p. 407.

Mellaḥa (الملّاحة). Apparently the fortress at Merla had been destroyed by 1191, for there is no mention of a fortress there either in the Itinerarium or in Bohaeddin's Life of Saladin just mentioned.

Attempts have been made to identify Merla with Dor[1], and such an identification is not impossible. However, in view of the fact that Dor lies off the coast road, it may be better with Conder[2] to locate Merla at El-Mezra'a[3] between Dor and Caesarea, where a strong Crusading tower still remains in ruins beside the main road. Withal, we must still admit the possibility that the ruins at Dor (if they be of the Crusading period at all) are those of Merla. It seems almost certain, however, that *the fortress* was not standing when Richard passed through this region. Otherwise some reference to it would doubtless have been made.

Having arrived at Joppa, Richard issued orders to the army to rebuild the fortresses of Plans and Maen[4]. The Templars, while engaged in this work at Plans, were attacked by Turkish cavalry from Bombrac. King Richard, who was busy rebuilding Maen, heard of the tumult, and on his arrival succeeded in driving away the Turks.

Conder[5], again relying upon Benjamin of Tudela[6], identifies Maen with Capernaum, and therefore with Dor. Plans he places at Kalensawieh, situated about twenty miles from Dor and a like distance from Ibn Ibrak (=Bombrac). But the account of the proceedings in the Itinerary makes it clear that Maen and Plans are in the neighborhood of Joppa. Dor, which is nearly forty miles away, cannot possibly be meant. Dr. Stubbs[7] suggests that Plans is the village of Beit Dejan, five and one-half miles S.E. of Joppa, and that Maen is to be sought at Saferiyeh, seven miles S.E. of Joppa. These two towns are only one and one-half miles apart; this would make it easily possible for the king to rush quickly to the rescue of the attacked Templars. These identifications are

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[1] *Recueil, Hist. Occident.*, I, Part I, p. LIV; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.*, p. 130.

[2] P.E.F., *Spec. Pap.*, p. 275; Archer, *l.c.*; *S.W.P. Mem.*, II, p. 4.

[3] The similarity in the names is to be noticed.

[4] *Itin. of Richard I*, Bk. IV, §§ 29, 30 (Bohn's translation).

[5] P.E.F., *Spec. Pap.*, p. 277.

[6] See above, pp. 117 f.

[7] Archer, *Crusades of Richard I*, p. 176.

very probable ones; those of Capt. Conder are absolutely impossible.

The results of our investigation of the history of Dor during the Crusading period are negative. The references to the town under the old name Dora, we have concluded, are merely reminiscences of the earlier days of the city; in any case they supply no information. The identification of Capernaum and Maen with Dor have been shown to be impossible; that of the "house of the narrow ways," improbable. There is a possibility (though not a probability) that Merla represents ancient Dor. In our present inadequate knowledge of the Crusading period, with its confusion and constant change of names, it seems impossible to decide what there was on the site of Dor at this time. At some period the fort whose ruins still lie scattered about must have been occupied. A more exhaustive study of Crusading documents or the use of the spade on the spot may throw light upon the history of Dor during the Crusades.

THE ARAB GEOGRAPHERS.

The outstanding fact is that Dor (طنطورة) *is not mentioned at all* by the classical Arab geographers (i. e. during the 9th to the 12th centuries A. D.). Moreover, in their various enumerations of the cities and towns on the Syrian coast, or along the travelled roads in that region, they habitually "skip over" Dor in a way that shows that they know of no town there worth mentioning.

Thus, Ibn Khordādhbeh, in the first half of the 9th century, describes the maritime district of central Syria with mention of 'Akkā, Ḳadas, Tyre; Jaffa, Caesarea, Nābulus[1]. Similarly Ya'ḳūbī, at the close of the 9th century, mentions Tyre and 'Akkā, and then proceeds inland with his description; then returning to the coast he names Caesarea, Jaffa, and Jamnia[2].

Much more significant still is the fact that in the great geographical dictionary of Yāḳūt (about 1200 A. D.), as well as in that of Bekrī (latter part of the 11th century), Ṭanṭūra does not occur. Yāḳūt, in his article on قَصْر حَيْفَا, a fortress in the Haifā region, has occasion to speak of the coast south of the latter city. Ḳaṣr Haifā, he says, is "a place *between Ḥaifā and Caesarea*" (موضع بين حيفا وقيساربة). Obviously Caesarea was the first town south of the Carmel promontory known to this geographer's sources. Yāḳūt, it may be added, mentions 'Athlīt (عثليت) as a fortress which had been taken by Saladin in 583 A. H. (1187 A.D.).

The evidence gained from the Arab geographers, then, appears to be this, that between the 7th and 12th or 13th centuries the coast region between 'Akkā and Caesarea was only sparsely inhabited. The road along the shore was probably unsafe and little used.

Haifā almost disappears from sight, from the 7th century down to 1100 A.D., when the town was besieged and taken by Tancred. The remark of Ibn Shaddād quoted by De Goeje, from a Leyden manuscript, in his edition of Ya'ḳūbī[3], is instructive. Ibn Shaddād has just noted the fact that both Ya'ḳūbī and Ibn Haukal omit to men-

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[1] *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.* VI, Trans., pp. 57, 58.
[2] *Ibid.* VII, 327, 18 ff.; 329, 2 ff.
[3] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 327 f., note *e*.

tion Bāniās, apparently because it had only recently been restored and was only known as "modern" (مُحْدَثَة); and then proceeds:

ولم يذكر ابن ابى يعقوب ولا ابن حوقل حيفا وكأنها مُحدَثة ايضًا ;

"Nor do Ibn Abī Ya'ḳūb (i. e. al-Ya'ḳūbī) and Ibn Ḥauḳal mention Haifā, presumably because it also was modern."

'Athlīt came into temporary prominence in the crusading period simply because of its very strong natural position. The Arab geographers before Yāḳūt do not mention it at all. As for Dor, it seems to have been nearly or quite deserted from the 7th century until after the third crusade (at least). Even Caesarea was reduced, during this same period, to a small and unimportant town. Thus Yāḳūt[1] says of it that it had once been an important city; "At present, however, it is not such, but is rather a village than a

city:" وأمّا الآن فليست كذلك وهى بالقُرَى أَشبه منها بالمدن .

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[1] IV, 214, lines 3–6.

THE VISITS OF THE CHEVALIER D'ARVIEUX.

From about the year 1660 we have the reminiscences of a certain Chevalier d'Arvieux[1], who, in addition to looking after his own commercial interests, acted as a sort of French consul at Sidon[2]. On a trip from Sidon to Gaza, d'Arvieux stopped at Tartoura in order to arrange for permission for the Carmelite monks to return to their monastery on Mount Carmel. Having arranged this matter satisfactorily, he viewed the city. The translation of d'Arvieux's version of this visit into quaint eighteenth-century German is as follows[3]:

Man rechnet drei Meilen von dem Schlosse Pellegrin (= 'Athlīt) nach Tartoura. Wir stigen daselbst bei einem griechischen Christens, Namens Abou-Moussa, ab, und brachten die Nacht in einem Zimmer zu, wo wir gedachten, das uns die Flöhe auffressen würden. Weil wir bei guter Zeit alda anlangten, so ging ich alsobald mit dem Herrn Souribe nach dem Feldlager des Emir Turabey, um die Wiedereinsetzung derer Carmelitermönche in ihr Kloster auf dem Berge Carmel zu vermitteln. Sie waren, durch die Verfolgungen derer Araber, genöthiget gewesen, selbiges zu verlassen. Das Feldlager dieses Emirs war nur eine Viertelmeile von Tartoura entlegen. Wir wurden von diesem Fürsten, der sehr ehrbar war, recht wol empfangen, und er willigte sehr höflich in unser Begehren. Wir brachten den iährlichen Tribut in Richtigkeit, welchen diese Mönche zu geben pflegten, und sie kehrten wieder in ihr Kloster zurük.

Hiernächst kehrten wir wieder nach Tartoura, und hatten noch Zeit genug übrig, dasienige zu besehen, was in diesem kleinen Orte, der nur aus einer einzigem ziemlich grossen Strasse, die nach dem Meere hin gehet, angetroffen wird. Daselbst wird der Markt

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[1] Born 1635, died 1702.

[2] *Memoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux*, par C. R. P. Jean Baptiste Labat, Paris 1735, 6 vols. The only copy of this work in America is the one at Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. (so Meyer, *Gaza*, p. 105). This I have been unable to consult.

[3] *Des Herrn von Arvieux . . . . merkwürdige Nachrichten . . . . von dem Herrn Labat* (Kopenhagen und Leipzig, bei Johann B. Ackermann, 1754), Part II, pp. 11–13.

gehalten, wo die Araber ihre Räubereien, und die da herum wohnenden Bauren ihr Vieh & Früchte hinbringen, so sie gegen Reis & Leinwand vertauschen, welche die Egyptier in kleinen Fahrzeugen hinführen, weil der Hafen, oder eine Art von Hafen, der vor der Stadt ist, keine hinlängliche Tiefe hat, dass grössere Fahrzeuge einlaufen können. Die Einwohner haben keine Moscheen, sondern sie versamlen sich auf dem öffentlichen Platze, wo sie das Erdreich ohngefehr zwei Fus hoch erhöhet, und mit einer kleinen Mauer eingeschlossen haben. Alhier kommen sie in der Zeit ihrer Betstunden zusammen unter offenem Himmel. Ganz dicht darbei ist ein Kahue, welches das schönste Gebäude, und das am meisten daselbst besuchet wird. Der Name desselben zeuget zur Genüge von seiner Bestimmung. Jederman versamlet sich alda, Tabak zu rauchen, Kaffee zu trinken, und neue Zeitungen zu erzehlen oder zu hören.

Tartoura würde Mangel an gutem Wasser zum Trinken haben, wenn es nicht eine kleine Quelle auf einem Felsen, zwei Ruthen in das Meer hinaus, hätte, die aber bei der geringsten Aufwallung des Meers mit Wellen überschlagen wird. Man trift zwar andere Quellen an verschiedenen Orten daherum an, sie sind aber salzigt, und es ist eben diese kleine Klippe, die vom Meergewässer umzingelt wird, deren man an diesem Orte so oft benöthiget ist.

Die ganze, um diesen Ort liegende Gegend ist ziemlich unfruchtbar, blos und ohne Bäume. Das Erdreich träget nur Korn. Der Emir Turabey hat einen Pachter in Tartoura, der den Zoll, den Caffar, oder Wegezoll, nebst denen andern Abgaben eintreibet, die in diesem Flecken beim Ein = und Ausgang müssen entrichtet werden. Der Herrn Souribe hatte mit dem Abou-Moussa einige Geschäfte abzuthun, welche uns fast den ganzen Vormittag des folgenden Tages aufhielten; also, dass wir erst nach einem des Mittags eingenommenen Frühstücke uns auf den Weg nach Cäsarea machten, welches nur vier Meilen davon entlegen ist.

Again in 1664 d'Arvieux pays another visit to Tartoura. At this time the shipwreck of a Greek ship, with a wine-banquet of the native rulers following thereupon, furnishes our author with materials for a vivid picture of native manners and customs[1]:

Tartoura ist ein kleiner unter die Herschaft des Emir Turabey gehöriger Hafen. Wir waren kaum daselbst angelanget, als bei

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[1] *Op. cit.*, Part III, pp. 75–82.

dem ungestümen Wetter ein grosses griechisches Fahrzeug auf
denen Sandbänken strandete. Es war mit cyprischem Weine und
Käse beladen, und nach Egypten bestimt. Sobald es veste sas,
ward es in wenig Minuten von denen Wellen zerschlagen, und die
ganze Manschaft flüchtete ans Land. Der Käse blieb im Meere
liegen, die Weinfässer aber rolten mit denen Wellen fort. Der
Emir Dervik, welcher den Schifbruch von dem Gebirge herab gese-
hen hatte, eilte mit einem Theile seiner Reuterei und einigen
Bedienten des Grosemirs herbei, welche mit Plünderung derer
Matrosen und Reisenden den Anfang machten, und durch die
Araber die zerscheiterten Stüke des Fahrzeuges, nebst allem, was
das Meer landwärts trieb, herausziehen liessen. Als sich der
Schiffer mit allen seinen Leuten nakend entkleidet sahe, verbargen
sie sich im Gesträuche, und erwarteten der Nacht, um sich nach
dem nächsten Dorfe zu begeben, damit sie etwas zu ihrer Bedekung
bekommen könten. Ich tröstete sie über ihren gehabten Verlust,
und sagte ihnen, dass ich ein Christ sey, und bei denen Arabern in
einigem Ansehen stünde; daher wolte ich suchen, ihnen Dienste
zu leisten. Sie waren sehr froh, dass sie mich angetroffen, und
mich ihre Sprache, die gemeine griechische, reden hörten. Ich
that ihnen den Vorschlag, dass sie das, was aus dem Meere könte
gerettet werden, solten herausziehen helfen, so wolte ich machen,
dass ihnen etwas wiedergegeben würde. Ich machte, das der
Emir solches gut aufnahm, und mir versprach, sie zu befriedigen.
Als sich nun diese armen Matrosen, die Gewaltsamkeit derer
Wellen ohngeachtet, so die Kaufmansgüter ans Land warfen, und
nachher wieder in die weite See zurük zogen, ins Meer geworfen
hatten, retteten sie viele Sachen. Man konte das Zerschlagen
derer Tonnen nicht verwehren; sie vermogten nur zwei davon zu
retten, und die brachten sie mit vieler Mühe ans Land. Die
Araber hatten einige Käse aufgefischet: da sagte ich im Scherz
zu ihnen, sie wären aus Saumilch gemacht, alsobald warfen sie
selbige hin, wuschen sich die Hände, und die Griechen benüzten
sich ihrer. Es fing an, spät zu werden, und das Meer war so
ungestüm, dass die Matrosen nicht mehr arbeiten konten. Ich bat
den Emir, ihnen ihre Kleider wiedergeben zu lassen. Er gab des-
halb Befehl, und die Araber stelten ihnen den grösten Theil der-
erselben wieder zu; weil der Emir aber in Tartoura unter Zelten
schlafen wolte, die er hatte aufschlagen lassen, so machte ich ihnen

Hofnung, noch etwas für sie zu erhalten: ich gab ihnen den Rath,
zu warten, bis er zu Abends abgespeiset hätte, damit sie ihn bei
muntererm Gemüthe antreffen mögten. Der Emir befahl, dass
man ihm die Abendmahlzeit zubereiten solte: nichts war seinen
Bedienten leichter, denn alle in dem Dorfe befindliche Leute hatten
ihm Geschenke von Fleisch, Vogelwild, Wildpret, Früchten und
Kaffee gebracht, niemand aber hatte an Wein gedacht; ich fand
zwei Krüge voll bei einem Griechen des Dorfes, Namens Abou
Moussa, welche ich dem Emir durch diese arme Matrosen über-
reichen lies. Der Fürst nahm sie mit Vergnügen an. Wir sezten
uns an Tafel: ich gab denen Griechen ein Zeichen, sich aussen vor
dem Zelte aufzuhalten und zu warten, bis ich sie hinein führen
liesse; unterdessen wurde ihnen zu essen gereicht.

Die Mahlzeit war gros, währete lange. Es waren viele Araber,
die keinen Wein trunken, daher der Emir, ich, und vier bis fünfe
von seinen Bedienten genug daran hatten. Man trug die Schaalen
in der Runde herum, man sang gut und schlecht, und dieser Land-
zeitvertreib war vergnüglich. Nun glaubte ich, dass es gelegene
Zeit sey, die Griechen herein kommen zu lassen; daher lies ich sie
rufen; sie kamen Haufenweise herein, küsten die Weste des Emirs,
und begaben sich zur Seite. Der Fürst frug mich, ob man ihnen nicht
ihre Kleider wiedergegeben hätte, und ob sie noch sonst etwas ver-
langten? Ich antwortete ihm: seine Befehle wären sehr genau vol-
zogen worden, weil aber diese armen Leute durch den Verlust ihres
Fahrzeuges und ihrer Kaufmansgüter zu Grunde gerichtet worden,
so fleheten sie um die durch den Schifbruch zerscheiterten Stüke,
so sie auffischen könten, die nicht beträchtlich wären, und ihnen
doch dienen könten, sich wieder nach ihrer Heimat zu begeben,
und ihren elenden Familien unter die Arme zu greifen. Diejenigen
aus der Geselschaft, welche daraus Nutzen zu ziehen wünschten,
sezten sich dagegen; der Emir aber bewilligte ihnen selbige, nach
einiger Ueberlegung, und befahl auf der Stelle, dass man ihnen
alles, bis auf einen Nagel, solte wegnehmen lassen. Mehr wurde
darzu nich erfordert. Die Griechen küsten ihm zur völligen Dank-
sagung den Saum der Weste, und machten sich alsobald fort, um
an Auffischung dessen, was das Meer auf die Küste warf, zu arbei-
ten, in der Hofnung, das übrige des folgenden Tages zu verrich-
ten; denn, weil der Wind gefallen war, so muste das Meer ruhiger
werden, der Emir auch mit allen denen, die sie hätten verhindern
können, aufbrechen solte.

Ich stund mit Anbruche des Tages auf, lies zwei Schlitten machen, um die zwei Fässer Wein auf das Gebirge zu schaffen: vor einen ieden Schlitten lies ich drei Paar Ochsen spannen, und die Fässer wol bevestigen. sagte auch zum Emir, dass ich die Fort-schaffung besorgen wolte, damit sich kein Zufal dabei ereignen mögte. Ich nahm alle die Bauren, die ich darzu nöthig zu seyn erachtete, und wir machten uns auf den Weg. Die Ochsen gingen so langsam, und unsere Bauren waren zu dergleichen Arbeit so wenig aufgelegt, dass wir erst um sechs Uhr des Abends in dem Lager des Emir Dervik anlangten. Der Emir war so vergnügt, seine zwei Tonnen gesund und wol behalten zu seinem Hoflager gebracht zu sehen, dass er denen Bauren grosmüthig für ihre Mühe eine Vergeltung gab, und augenbliks Boten an alle die Emirs abfertigte, von denen er wuste, dass sie sich über das Verbot des Weintrinkens kein grosses Gewissen machten, um ihnen zu berich-ten, dass er zwei grosse Tonnen davon in seiner Wohnung habe, und sie zur Theilnehmung daran einzuladen. Sie liessen ihm zurük sagen, sie hätten es schon erfahren und sich, ihn zu besuchen, auch die Nacht mit ihm in seinem Lager zuzubringen, angeschikt, daher möge er sich nur fertig machen sie wol zu empfangen, und herrlich zu bewirthen.

Der Emir Dervik, als der iüngste von allen diesen Fürsten, empfing diese Zeitung mit einer ungemeinen Freude. Er war über diese Gelegenheit erfreuet, ihnen Zeichen seiner Freundschaft zu geben. Daher stelte er Befehle zu einem Feste aus, und alsobald sahe man im ganzen Lager ein volkommenes Schlachten und Rösten von Ochsen, Hameln, iungen Ziegen, Vogelwild und Wildpret. Viele Zelte waren mit Weibespersonen angefüllet, welche mit Zurichtung derer Suppen, gewürzter Speisen, Bakwerk, Früchten und Zukergebakenem beschäftiget waren. Ich nahm die Aufsicht des Weins über mich, der nicht sonderlich klar war, diese Leute aber fragen wenig darnach. Es war fürtreflicher cyprischer Wein. Ich lies die beiden Tonnen in das grosse Festgezelt an einem Orte hinlegen, wo sie niemanden im Wege waren. Ich stelte einen von meinen Leuten zu ieder Tonne, und als ich in meinem Schreibe-zeuge einige neue Federn fand, machte ich Kleine Röhren daraus, um den Wein abzuzapfen, und die Schaalen zu füllen, welche von denen Bedienten rund herum denen Gästen zugebracht wurden. Ich wolte dem Emir zeigen, wie man bei denen Franzosen das Fleisch brätet. In Ermangelung eines Bratspiesses, nahm einer

von meinen Leuten eine alte Lanze, machte einen Handgrif daran, und stekte einen grossen Mürbebraten darauf, nebst einem Hamels-viertheil und Vogelwild, lies sie nach unserer Weise braten, und auftragen. Ich zerlegte diesen Braten und reichte ihn herum; und diese Fürsten gestunden, dass unsere Weise, Fleisch zu braten, besser als die ihrige, sey, weil unser Fleisch seinen Saft behält, da hingegen das ihrige troken, fast verbrant und unschmakhaft war.

Wir hatten keine Flaschen, weil diese bei denen Arabern nicht gebräuchlich sind, man schenkte aber die Schaalen wieder voll, ie nachdem sie ausgeleeret wurden. Alle eingeladene Emirs langten zusammen an, und nach denen Höflichkeitsbezeigungen, denen Umarmungen, dem Bart-und Händeküssen, ie nachdem es der Gebrauch und die Würde derer Personen erforderte, sezte man sich auf Matten nieder. Die Emirs hatten samtene küssen, die andern hatten keine, und sassen mit gekreuzten Füssen, wie unsere Schneider. Nach einer ziemlich kurzen Unterredung legten die Eingeladene ihre grossen Schnupftücher, die sie an statt derer Tellertücher gebrauchten, vor sich, ihre Kleider zu verwahren, und man trug grosse kupferne verzinte Beken mit gebratenem, gekochtem Fleische und gewürzten Speisen auf. Die Suppen waren überflüssig, und von verschiedenen Arten. Das hiernächst aufgesezte Bakwerk war wol gerathen. Der Braten, welcher zur lezten Tracht verwahret wurde, dienete zu Zwischengerichten, und man fand ihn gut. Hierauf kam die Frucht. Alle Gäste speiseten mit grossem Appetite. Man trug neue Schüsseln auf, ie nachdem einige ausgeleeret waren, oder die Emirs selbige ihren Leuten geschikt hatten, welche Rottenweise geordnet waren, und mit eben so grossem Appetite, als ihre Herren, assen. Die Schaalen gingen rund herum, und der Wein verbreitete die Freude über alle Eingeladene. Die Schalmeien, Violinen, Trompeten und Trom-meln machten eine Musik, die man sehr weit hören konte. Sie spielten bisweilen besonders, und zuweilen alle mit einander. Ihre schmachtende Stükchen machten unsere Trinker ganz entzükt; sie sassen nachsinnend mit ihren Schaalen in denen Händen, weinten aus Zärtlichkeit, umarmten sich, küsten einander den Bart, und gaben sich die zärtlichsten Versicherungen von der Welt. Die Mahlzeit währete so lange, dass man erst nach Mitternacht um drei Uhr von der Tafel aufstunde. Alsdenn legten sich dieienige, so des Schlafes benöthiget waren, auf Matratzen und Küssen, womit die Matte, welche auf dem Fusboden lag, bedekt war. Die ersten,

so des Morgens gegen zehen Uhr erwachten, riefen die andern. Ich
rieth ihnen, Kaffee mit Milche zu trinken, den meine Leute zube-
reiten musten, und hierdurch erwies ich ihnen einem Dienst, dessen
sie höchlich benöthiget waren: denn die meisten hatten Kopf-
schmerzen. Nach dem Kaffeetrinken und einem kurzen Spazirgange
sezte man sich zur Tafel, und fing auf neue Unkosten wieder zu
essen und zu trinken an; diese Uebung ward drittehalb Tage wie-
derholet, nehmlich so lange, als der Wein währete, und da schieden
sie, in Erwartung, dass anderer kommen solte, als die besten Freunde
von der Welt auseinander.

Bei diesem langen Feste bemerkte ich zwei Dinge, die mir Ver-
gnügen erwekten. Erstlich, dass diese Leute, die gemeiniglich
sehr mäsig leben, auch eine so grosse Beschwerlichkeit ertragen
konten, als die bei diesem langen Gastmahle war, ohne dass man es
an ihnen durch die Zeichen abnehmen konte, die gemeiniglich der
Schwelgerei folgen. Zweitens, dass unter so vielen Leuten, die
diese lange Mahlzeit hindurch überflüssig Wein trunken, sich nicht
die geringste Unordnung äusserte: man hörte nicht das geringste
Stichelwort, noch den geringsten Vorwurf. Hingegen blieben sie
in ihrer Ernsthaftigkeit, und der Wein machte sie nur ein wenig
munterer, lustiger, zwar ein wenig freier, aber ohne die Schranken
der Höflichkeit, des ganzen Wolstandes und der Achtung, die sie
einander schuldig waren, zu überschreiten; daher sie mit tausend
derer zärtlichsten Freundschaftsbezeugungen und allen Höflich-
keiten, die man von Leuten ihres Standes erwarten konte, von
einander schieden.

LATER VISITORS AT DOR.

After the Chevalier d' Arvieux, the first explorer to visit Ṭanṭūra whose writings we possess was Richard Pococke[1]. In the year 1737, accompanied by a retinue sent along with him by the sheik at 'Athlīt, Pococke reached "Tortura." This he describes as a small village with a port to the south into which large boats are sometimes forced to put by stress of weather; on such occasions passengers are forced to pay a tax of nine shillings a head. The sheik at Ṭanṭūra received him and his companions with great civility. Having visited Caesarea, Pococke on his return travelled along the road a half mile to the east of Ṭanṭūra intending to pass by it. The sheik, however, sent some of his people in pursuit of Pococke with an urgent invitation to dine with him. For fear of giving offense, Pococke returned and accepted his invitation.

On the 14th of January, 1816, "Tartoura" was visited by J. S. Buckingham[2]. At that time there were forty or fifty dwellings and perhaps 500 Mohammedan inhabitants in the town. Buckingham cites Father Julio of Mt. Carmel as authority for the statement that the ruined tower at Ṭanṭūra was for some unknown reason called by the Franks the "Accursed Tower." The Arabs, he says, called it merely "Khallat-el-Ateek" (the Old Castle). During supper he was in characteristic fashion questioned as to his destination and business by the elders of the village. "They eagerly inquired after Bonaparte, whom they all knew"[3]. On awaking the following morning Buckingham discovered that all the remaining provisions had been stolen from the baskets during the night.

Irby and Mangles[4] passed through "Tortura" on October 15th, 1817. They characterize the extensive ruins here as possessing nothing of interest.

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[1] *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries* (London, 1745), II, p. 57.

[2] *Travels in Palestine*, etc. (London, 1822), p. 123.

[3] Napoleon passed along the shore road on his way to the disastrous engagement at Acre.

[4] *Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria and the Holy Land* (1844), p. 59.

In the month of May, 1843, John Wilson[1] found a "few wretched houses" at Ṭanṭurah.

C. W. M. van de Velde[2] visited Tantūra in 1851. He calls particular attention to the ridge of rock east of Dor, which served as a protection against attack from that direction. The outrageous prices charged by the natives created considerable difficulty, until Dr. Kalley (van de Velde's companion) packed up his medicine bag with a threat to treat no more patients. The inhabitants then became open to reason.

The first thorough-going description of the ruins at Dor was that of (Hugo) Victor Guérin[3], who visited and described the site in 1870. The results of his observations have been employed in the chapter above on the "Topography of Dor." At the time of Guérin's visit "Tantoura" possessed two mosques[4], one of them partially demolished.

Still more thorough and complete was the survey made by the Palestine Exploration Fund[5] on the 8th of March, 1873. The accurate maps, plans, pictures and descriptions issued by the Fund constitute our principal authority for the description of the ruins at Dor. Additions to the information contained in this report have appeared in the Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly[6].

Ṭantūra lies off the usual tourist routes near unhealthful swamps, and is therefore seldom visited. Beside a few illustrations accompanying some of the descriptions mentioned above[7], it has been impossible to obtain satisfactory pictures of the site. A renewed examination of the ruins would doubtless yield interesting additions to our information concerning ancient and mediaeval Dor. It is to be hoped that such an examination will be made before all the material has been removed or destroyed.

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[1] *The Lands of the Bible Visited and Described* (Edinburgh 1857), II, p. 249.

[2] *Narrative of a Journey through Syria and Palestine in 1851 and 1852* (Edinb. and London, 1854), I, p. 333.
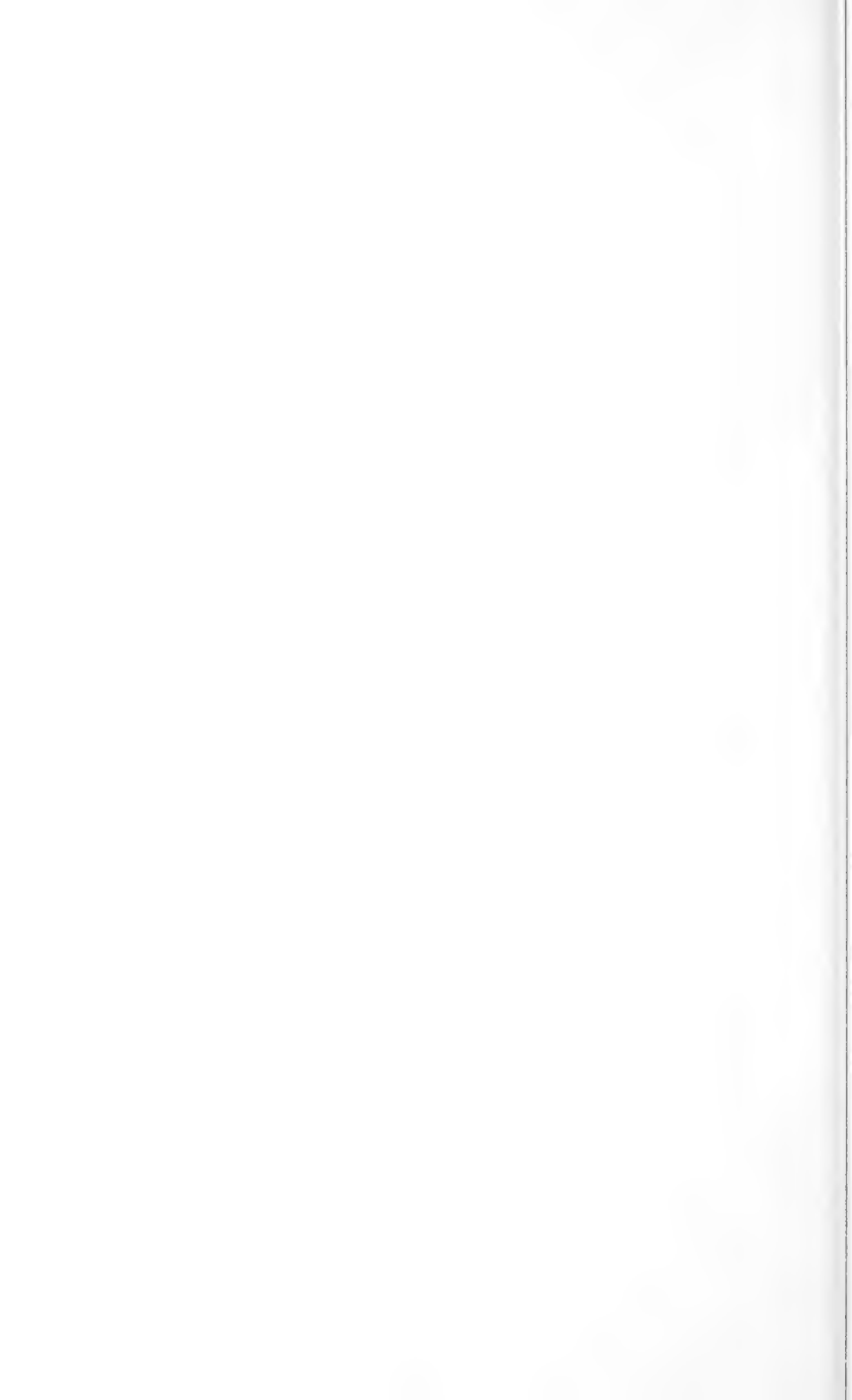
[3] *Description de la Palestine*, II Partie—Samarie—(Paris, 1874–75), 2 : 305 f.
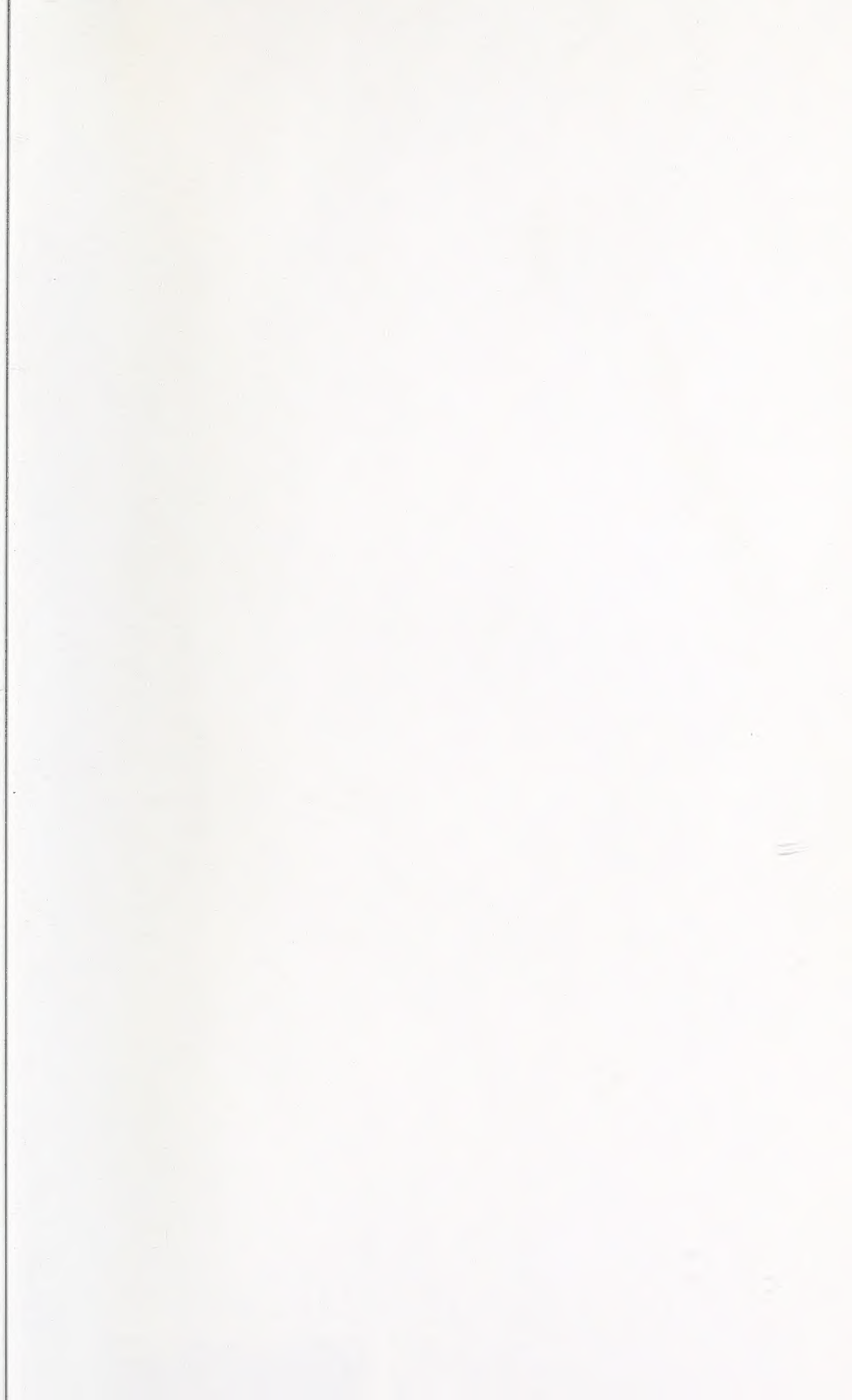
[4] When Buckingham (see above) visited Ṭantūra in 1816 the town was without a mosque.
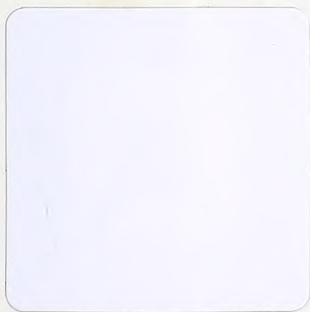
[5] *Survey of Western Palestine, Memoirs of the Topography*, etc. (London, 1881–83), II, pp. 3 ff.

[6] 1887, p. 181 ; 1895, p. 113 (Reports by Dr. G. Schumacher).

[7] *S. W. P. Mem.* II, pp. 10 ff.; *P.E.F.Q.*, (1887), p. 84 ; Wilson, *Pict. Pal.*, III, p. 105.